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ARTICLE I.

INTRODUCTION:—PLAN OF THE WORK ILLUSTRATED,—OBLIGATIONS AND FACILITIES OF AMERICAN LITERATURE.

By the Senior Editor.

GOETHE once remarked to Eckermann: "I always consult foreign nations, and advise every one to do the same. National literature will say but little;—the epoch of a literature of the world is at hand, and every one ought to labor to hasten it." At another time he said: "A more intimate intercourse between the French, the English and the Germans will induce them to correct each other. This is the great benefit to be produced by a literature of the world, and which will exhibit itself more and more."

The idea of a LITERATURE OF THE WORLD is a beautiful and splendid conception;—a thought which has occasionally floated in the minds of the learned and the fanciful of different countries, but has hitherto belonged rather to the province of poetry than to that of sober prose. Wonders, however, have been accomplished in our day, which were once regarded as the dreams of enthusiasm. Is it not possible that this too is among the images of things that shall be? May it not be realized, partially at least, in results of immense benefit to mankind? The materials of such a literature exist. They are embodied in the writings of the dead and the thoughts of the living, of every clime and every tongue. In every land there are jewels and ingots, the merchandise whereof is better than that of gold. To find access to these treasures of mind would be a glorious achievement;—to reduce them to possession, a consummation of priceless worth.

Every nation is inclined to *overvalue* its good qualities and to *overlook* its defects; and nothing is better adapted to subdue the pride and conceit which lead to these results, than a free and frequent interchange of sentiments with the inhabitants of other countries. As an individual is bene-

fitted by society ; as one improves his manners, acquires knowledge and learns the true measure of his foibles from intercourse ; as his egotism is broken by bringing his opinions into conflict with those of others, while by the same means his diffidence and embarrassment are diminished ; as *communication* with the good, the generous and the great, is the soul of our noblest enjoyment ;—so nations will derive similar advantages, only on a larger scale, from intercourse with each other, especially in the spheres of knowledge, taste and virtue. Who then would suffer a mere difference of language or government, or a few peculiarities in modes of thinking, to raise a barrier between himself and that which is great and good in a foreign literature ?

The narrow-hearted views which prevailed before the coming of Christ, when men valued a thing simply because it belonged to *their* nation, and when all were barbarians who were not Greeks or Romans, are foreign to this age ; and the spirit of those times deserves no quarter in the enlightened countries of Christendom. Truth, beauty and goodness are independent of nationality. They are the birth-right of the human race ; and the whole race,—not this or that nation only,—should labor to exhibit them in their works of art, their scientific and literary productions. We should learn to admire the true, the good and the noble in whatever country or costume they appear. These qualities bestow honor and dignity on the person or the nation that has them, but they receive nothing in return from their possessor. They should be valued wholly on their own account ; and, as we admire, we should embrace, and cherish, and represent them.

Such are the general sentiments with which THE AMERICAN ECLECTIC has been projected. It is designed to embody and bring home to our intelligent countrymen the choicest topics of interest and instruction, which may be gathered from the literature of other countries. It will be principally compiled from the foreign journals, repositories and reviews. The selections will be made with care and research, and will be accompanied, when necessary, with editorial introductions and explanations, to acquaint the reader with the occasion, progress and bearings of each discussion. The work will thus present in an intelligible form, and in our own tongue, most of what is truly excellent in the current periodical literature of all foreign lands.

The term *literature* is not here restricted, as it sometimes is in English usage, to signify what in other languages is called *elegant literature*. We embrace in its meaning the whole field of erudition, and exclude nothing which may properly form a subject of written discussion or description.

The work will be adapted to popular reading and universal circulation. It will also comprise a great variety of topics of permanent value to the general scholar. It is designed to become, in its progress, an *Encyclopædia of Foreign Periodical Literature*.*

* The literature which belongs appropriately to our own country is excluded from the plan of this work for obvious reasons. To publish here selections from periodicals, originally American, would be an infringement of the copy-rights of their proprietors. Nor would such a

It will of course exclude what is trifling or pernicious, and will strenuously adhere to the cardinal principles of truth and morals.— It will not, however, be the advocate of any party in politics or any sect in religion. Of disputed questions it will present the most able and thorough discussions on both sides; and on every subject its aim will be to supply the reader with the best materials for the formation of his own opinions. By a strict observance of these principles, the editors hope to compose a work which will be equally acceptable to the liberal minded of all classes, and worthy to be preserved as an indispensable constituent of the library of every educated family.

The construction of such a periodical will be attended with great labor. *The field is the world*, and from every portion of it the materials of the work are to be gathered. Whatever is elegant or curious in language and letters, whether in poetry or prose; whatever is conclusive in reasoning or stirring in debate; whatever is enlightening in science or practical and progressive in the arts; whatever may be recovered from the neglected treasures of antiquity, or achieved by the ever wakeful enterprises of new discovery; whatever is instructive on the subjects of religion, morals and political economy; whatever is deteriorating, stationary or advancing in the condition of society; in a word, every department of research and discussion which enlists the energies of the human mind, in every part of the world, is to be surveyed through the medium of the current periodical publications of all foreign countries. To do this intelligently will require an acquaintance with the languages of all civilized nations, and through them with the literature which they exhibit. Some knowledge also of the dialects and customs of savage and half-civilized tribes will be necessary to the full accomplishment of our plan; which is, that the work shall not only be a competent index to the literature of the civilized world, but shall also contain notices of the legends and traditions of barbarous nations.

All the qualifications requisite for this undertaking the editors cannot hope, personally, to acquire. But they possess the means of an adequate investigation of by far the most important portions of the field. Besides the English,—which is first in the richness and variety of its literature,—they read the French and German languages, in which the periodicals are numerous and copious, extending to almost every variety of topic. To supply the deficiency of their knowledge of other living tongues, they have secured the pledge of occasional aid from a number of literary and professional gentlemen, through whom they will have access to whatever may be desirable to obtain from the other nations of Europe; and will be

selection be desirable. Each of these works occupies its appropriate field, and is regarded by its supporters as indispensable to the local or other object for which it was commenced, while the general scholar may find ready access to as many as are requisite to put him in possession of the current literature of the country. But the foreign journals, as we shall have occasion to remark, are less available to American readers.

enabled to glean some curious and interesting specimens of ancient and modern learning from the oriental world.* Their associates have also been chosen with special respect to the general literature appertaining to the several learned professions.

With such assistance, and the aid which they may derive from correspondence with foreign scholars and American residents in distant countries, they cannot doubt of their ability to produce a periodical, on the plan proposed, more interesting and valuable than is now to be found in any language.

The need of such a work in our country, and some additional considerations in defence of its plan and illustrative of the importance of its object, as well as the facilities which exist for its accomplishment, may be here briefly presented.

The periodical publications in all foreign countries, excepting Great Britain, are in languages which are unintelligible to most Americans. They are understood, among us, only by a few scholars and literary men, and by a portion of the recent emigrants from abroad. To the mass of our readers the whole field is a *terra incognita*, excepting that some of its productions have been translated into English, and others are occasionally reviewed in British and American periodicals. At present our only means of acquiring a comprehensive view of the literature of those languages is the laborious process of learning the languages themselves. But few comparatively have the leisure or the inclination for such labor. The result is that most of our countrymen, however well prepared by intellectual activity and culture to appreciate the literature of the old world, and to be benefitted by it, are excluded from the numerous and diversified sources of information which it contains. We are almost wholly ignorant of the modes of thinking and writing which prevail among many millions of people of other tongues, even in respect to the common concerns of life. Much less are we familiar with their works of taste and genius. Who would not wish to overcome such a barrier to an acquaintance with the thoughts and sympathies of nine-tenths of this earth's population? What American, whose mind is awakened to the pursuit of knowledge, will not desire to possess a work which shall lead him abroad over territories and realms of such ever-varying aspects and interests;—which shall unroll before him the intellectual and moral map of the world, and exhibit the endless diversities of character and pursuit which all must believe to exist among so many races of men?

* One of the gentlemen associated, Mr. Elihu Burritt, from whom we expect special assistance in translating from several foreign tongues, has recently become somewhat extensively known for his very great proficiency in the acquisition of languages. The public are indebted to an Address of Gov. Everett before a Mechanics' Association in Massachusetts for a highly interesting account of this extraordinary philologist. He is a mechanic, industriously engaged in his trade, which is that of a blacksmith. Such, however, have been his industry and system in study that, at the age of 29 years, he is now able to read fifty varieties of language, and is zealously pursuing the acquisition of others.

The British literature is more accessible. Yet even here new facilities, as well as safeguards, are much to be desired. The periodicals of England, Scotland and Ireland are quite too numerous to be within the reach of our countrymen generally. Of the whole number, an individual can seldom possess more than one or two; and these are often of a local, or party, or sectarian character, and present a very inadequate view of the current literature of the British Empire. And even if the whole were available, the readers of foreign periodicals need not be told, that much of what they contain is light and trifling, prosing and dull, bad in its moral tendency, or at least irrelevant to the pursuits of American citizens and scholars. The indiscriminate circulation, therefore, in this country, of all the English periodicals should be deprecated as an evil. The best of them are scarcely worthy of being reprinted entire for our use. But many of the works referred to contain much that is truly valuable, and that surpasses the productions of our own writers on the same or similar subjects.

The principle of *eclecticism*, then, suggests the only plan which appears suited to secure the best advantages to be derived from the transatlantic journals. A work conducted on this principle, it is believed, will not only add much to the stores of our intellectual wealth, but will exert an important influence to elevate the standard and improve the character of our own productions. Not a few of our young writers are ambitious to imitate the manner of the foreign reviews; and their deformities, perhaps more frequently than their beauties, are resembled. But a selection, guided by good taste and a sound discrimination, may be expected to supply the best models of style, as well as thought, and thus to counteract the injuries inflicted on our literature by those weak and crude productions, which are issuing, in great numbers and in every form of attraction, from the foreign press.

It has been doubted, however, by some, whether the advantages here referred to are such as ought to enlist the endeavors of American scholars to secure and perpetuate them. Since the first publication of the design of this work, an editor entitled to our respect, has inquired: "Why not make it American? Have we not learned and scientific men enough in this country to prepare an original work for the promotion of literature and science?" The inquirer adds: "We shall never have able and talented scientific and literary works of our own, if we are always to use the materials, and depend on the labors of European authors and compilers."

We quote the preceding passages because they appeal to a popular prejudice which, if cherished and suffered to prevail in our country, may prove to be among the most powerful hinderances of the object on behalf of which it is awakened. As Americans, we glory in our birthright. The beginning of our national existence is so recent that there still lingers among us a remnant of the venerable men, by whose toils and sufferings it was achieved. The present generation is but a single remove from the earliest triumph of civil and religious liberty in the new world; and such a flood of privilege and blessing has come upon us—so rapid has been our increase in numbers, and our advancement in the means of intellectual

and moral culture, that we have already taken our stand among the most enlightened of the nations, while yet we are young in that experience of national vicissitudes and reverses, by which an older people might have been trained to possess with more calmness and dignity so splendid an inheritance. So much has been achieved in the empire of mind, and so suddenly has our dominion been acquired, that we can hardly tell whence it has come! We are conscious of the possession, but, in the ardor and hurry of our youthful enterprise, we have not sufficiently marked the influences which have conspired to produce this early accumulated affluence of knowledge. And as we have failed to observe the causes of our present attainments, we do not readily perceive why they may not have been, to an indefinite extent, more and greater. We have vainly imagined that so great a people must have had, in themselves, all the materials of a national literature as matured, profound and refined as the most ancient nations can boast. We have chided our scholars for not having already *produced*, from their own resources, a system, as rich and various and massive, as, in other countries, has resulted from the toils and acquisitions of many centuries.

It is true, indeed, that we have been provoked to these self-reproaches, in some measure, by the pride and petulance with which we have been told from the mother country that the Americans have no literature. We have conceded, almost without examination, that the censure is well founded. It has accordingly become fashionable, with some writers, to disparage our own productions by constantly reminding us how little we possess that we have not received from the older nations. They urge us to *originate* a literature which shall be worthy of ourselves. True it is, we have—in this new country—more than sixty Universities and Colleges, and more than forty schools and seminaries for professional instruction. True it is, that in several of the states, more than a fourth part of the population are at school. True it is, that not only the common school, but the Academy and the College are travelling over the land, and are sometimes found in the wilderness, in anticipation of a generation yet to be born. True it is, we have done more for letters than any other people ever did in the same time, and in similar circumstances, and have made more extensive grants in favor of universal education than any other country. True it is, that we circulate eight hundred millions of newspapers in a year, and more than a hundred thousand quarterly and monthly periodicals. True it is, that the volumes composed by American authors are numerous, and that some of them exhibit specimens of genius and erudition, which are scarcely surpassed by the productions of any age! But alas, that it may be said of so many of the materials of our national literature, *for they were borrowed!* Why, then, have we not abjured for ever this dependence “on the labors of European authors and compilers,” and *produced* a literature purely and exclusively our own?

To all this we reply, that such a literature never was produced, in any civilized country, and never can be. The empire of mind is universal. It cannot be meted out and bounded by the lines of state and nations. It mocks the restraints of time and space, and pervades a sphere which is

alike unlimited and illimitable. All that may be known, or imagined, is within the range of its conquests. And they that have part in this intellectual realm hold it in common with all others. No portion of it can be exclusively appropriated to an individual. The motto of universal experience is, *Disco Docendo*. We acquire knowledge from others, but diminish not the amount of their possession. We impart instruction, and thus add to the common stock, while we retain all that we give. So it is with nations. They are tenants in common of the universe of thought; and so to divide the field that any one country shall inherit a portion of it, to the exclusion of others, is impossible.

A national literature, then, wholly and exclusively such, as to the materials of its production, is a thing of fancy, and has nowhere a real existence in the civilized world. It is only in savage tribes, who are shut out from intercourse with other men, that we find an approach to this *beau idéal* of selfish enthusiasm; if indeed that may be called literature which consists in the legends, the wild imaginings and fabulous traditions of barbarous and semi-barbarous nations. The literature of China, for example, may be said, perhaps with some propriety, to be exclusively national. It has been sedulously and superstitiously guarded against any accretions of learning from external sources. And what is the result of this system of exclusiveness? The intellect and heart of the people are sickly and erring. But where science and letters have flourished, men have fearlessly entered the boundless fields of knowledge. They have considered it no robbery to gather the materials of thought from other countries and other ages, and to gain instruction from the reasonings of adversaries and enemies. To have repudiated all sources of improvement, excepting such as were found within their own geographical boundaries, would have been suicidal to their own advancement. It would have placed each separate people much in the condition of an infant, abandoned to solitude, with no parental example or social influence to develop and direct its powers. But it has not been thus with those countries which have enjoyed the light of civilization. The love of learning cannot be restricted to the materials which lie within the field of immediate observation. It soars away in search of new and higher sources of instruction. It seizes, without compunction, on the results of the labors of every competitor in the race of discovery, and amasses its treasures from the universe of matter and mind. It is only where ignorance, superstition or tyranny has sought to control the destinies of men, that these goings forth of awakened intellect have been restrained. The enlightened and the free are ever abroad on the land and the ocean, gathering new trophies of knowledge, and enriching themselves and the nations to which they belong, with the spoils of ancient cities, empires and ages. And these possessions, when acquired, become the common property of mankind. The people, therefore, who would be pre-eminent in knowledge, must become so by availing themselves, to the greatest possible extent, of the discoveries and researches of other countries. This is a law of nature, to which the intercourse of man has ever been subjected.

How much was the republic of Greece indebted, for her high state of

cultivation and refinement, to Egypt, Phœnicia and Old Assyria? It would be puerile to maintain that she *originated* her literature, as if the great Egyptian and Oriental Monarchies had contributed nothing to her advancement! It cannot be doubted that the philosophers and scholars of those successive empires were fellow-laborers in a common field. Each advanced to greater perfection what another had begun. Greece, however much she is to be admired for the splendor of her genius and the originality of her investigations, could not have perfected her literature, had she not stood at the confluence of those streams which flowed down from preceding times, and mingled their influences with hers to make her the instructress of the world.

And whence were derived the materials of the Roman literature? Not alone, nor even principally, from their own native resources. During the early part of their history, for five hundred years, the Romans were a rude and unlettered people. Involved in perpetual conflicts, they were trained to physical endurance and deeds of valor—but they neglected intellectual culture. They regarded all arts and sciences, with the exception of agriculture and war, as dishonorable, and fit only for slaves. And Rome pursued her conquests till she subdued the power of Carthage, and then of Greece, and became the mistress of the world. But, by the very triumphs of her arms, she was unconsciously embosoming an influence before which her own deep-rooted and long-cherished prejudices were destined to yield. That learning and refinement, for which she was accustomed to utter expressions of unmingled contempt, still lived in the persons of her conquered subjects; and—

"With honest scorn the first famed Cato viewed,
Rome learning arts from Greece whom she subdued."

Poets, orators, grammarians and philosophers removed to her metropolis from the conquered countries, and inspired many of her citizens with the love of letters; and when Greece was fully subjected, and peace was restored, then followed the reign of the sciences and the arts, and that brilliant period which is called the golden age of the Roman literature.* Rome could not have been Rome, as she was in her palmy days, had not Greece preceded her, and conveyed to her citizens at once the impulse and the means of those splendid mental adornments, which have excited the admiration of all succeeding ages.

Turning from ancient to later times, we inquire: What constitutes the literature of modern Europe? Is it a new creation? Is it wholly the product of the native genius of these times? Owes it nothing to the ages of antiquity? The mere propounding of these questions, to every mind in the least familiar with history, suggests the answer. Before the fall of the Roman Empire, there had grown up an influence above and beyond that of mere literature or political control. It was the influence of the Christian religion; and when all that was valuable in the advancement of society, when the productions of Grecian and Roman intellect, and the

* See Eschenburg's Manual of Classical Literature, by Fiske.

oracles of truth themselves were upon the point of being crushed by the overwhelming physical power of ruthless invaders—when the whole world must have fallen a prey to mere brute force—it was then that Christianity,—corrupted though it was,—maintained and promulgated the idea that there exists a law superior to all human authority, and that there is a Ruler in heaven, *to whom vengeance belongeth*.* This, and this only it was, which saved the records of ancient genius, and even the oracles of God, from irrecoverable loss, during that dreary waste of centuries which separates the times of ancient and modern civilization; between which,

“Deep forests and impenetrable night
Possess the middle space.”

“Religion alone,” says Hallam, “made a bridge, as it were, across the chaos, and has linked together the two periods.”† Over this bridge were conveyed the materials which fed the flame of the Protestant Reformation, and have produced the revival of both learning and religion in all the countries of Protestant Christendom.

And while the nations of modern Europe are alike indebted to preceding ages, they are also reciprocally dependent on each other for the sources of that advancement, which has been the result of new discoveries and inventions, and of original investigations of subjects which had been before but partially understood. Thus all Europe and the world are indebted to France or England for the use of the Mariner’s Compass, to Spain for the discovery of the Western Continent, and to Germany for the art of Printing. If it were needful for our purpose, we might here descend to particulars, and exhibit the influence of the several great men of these countries, as of Bacon in England and Descartes in France; each of whom has stamped a new character upon some department of science or learning, which has been felt and acknowledged by all.

But enough has been said to show that there is nowhere to be found a national literature worthy of the name, which can claim to have been constructed from materials exclusively its own; and that when we are called on, as Americans, to *originate* such a literature, we are urged to an impracticable task. We are a younger branch of the family of nations, and, like all who have preceded us, we are and must be dependent on others for many of the sources of improvement.

It would be a curious and perhaps a profitable inquiry to ask: How it is, that a prejudice, opposed to the views here presented, prevails so extensively in the popular mind? If we mistake not, such a prejudice exists—crude and undefined—not only among ourselves, but in other countries. Why, then, should the mental acquisitions of the respective dominions of men be so conceived of and represented, as if each attainment might be individuated and claimed by a single people, and locked up in the public coffers, like gold and silver? May it not be accounted for, in part at least, from the fact that the nations owe their separate existence

* Guizot’s History of Civilization in Europe.

† Hallam’s View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages, p. 461.

to the wars and conflicts by which their independence has been achieved and maintained? The safety of their possessions and their honor have been universally regarded as depending on the strength of their military and naval defences. Thus a spirit of opposition is engendered and perpetuated. They are accustomed to look upon each other as enemies. That is esteemed the greatest nation, whose power of defence or of conquest is the most appalling. Hence, what, in popular appeals is called patriotism, often consists as much in hating other countries as in loving our own. Absurd as this feeling is, in respect to other things, it is doubly so when extended to whatever belongs to the province of mind. Here the possession of each is for the benefit of all, and the country which imparts the most bountifully is the most enriched, while, by the advantages which it derives from the labors of others, it takes nothing from the common stock. Away, then, with this antagonism in the pursuits of literature. Knowledge, like the bounty of heaven as it distils in the dew and the rain, and like the grace of God as it is celebrated in the hosannas of angels, is for *all people*.

"*Respublica literarum est totius mundi.*"

Let it not be imagined that we reject the idea of a literature which may be properly denominated *national*. There is a sense in which such a possession may be said to belong to every country, that is in any measure awakened to the pursuits of learning. It is to be seen in the results of the action of the national mind. Such a literature exists in the United States, and has already acquired a character which is honored by enlightened men of every land; and we envy not, nor would we emulate that frothy excrescence of the British press, by which the spleen of a class of triflers in letters has been exhibited in successive endeavors to expose to ridicule the literary pretensions of so young a people. With the liberal minded scholars of Europe we hold a generous rivalry. By such the achievements of the American mind are regarded with respect and with interest. They should not be lightly esteemed by ourselves. Though the laurels of our genius be few, they are fresh and green, like the verdure of our young country's husbandry. And the temple of our fame, though it is but beginning to rise, stands upon *the foundations of many generations*. Bacon, and Shakspeare, and Milton, and Locke belong as much to us as to the mother country; for we too are their descendants; and England's intellect and erudition, as well as her imperishable names, up to the date of the American Revolution, are ours. We have begun to build upon them amid the accumulated lights of the age which has given birth to the noble empire of liberty and law, to which we owe a joyful allegiance. Much of the *materiel* of our literature has been derived from the stores of antiquity, and from the more practical improvements of Modern Europe. But the energy, which has given it life and distinction, is the mental power of our native writers. So far as it is properly national, it consists in the learned and scientific productions of our own authors; their books of elementary instruction; their political, moral and religious disquisitions; their works of art, taste and fancy; their periodical jour-

nals, repositories and reviews; their translations from the ancient languages and the living tongues of foreign countries; their voyages, travels and researches in distant lands; their discoveries and inventions, and their applications of the principles of science and the arts to useful purposes. In each of these departments, it exhibits attainments honorable to the nation, and in some, examples have occurred of surpassing brilliancy and worth, of universal interest to mankind, and

—— “of time-outlasting name.”

Our national literature, however, is yet in its infancy. It is but imperfectly furnished with the sources of improvement. To supply its deficiencies, to correct its errors, to multiply and enrich its productions should be the aim and ambition of American scholars. These results are undoubtedly to be reached in their greatest perfection, by the use of whatever is good and true in the writings of every land. With the advantages to be derived from these, as well as the truths which have been wrought out by ourselves, let the native genius of our countrymen be stimulated to the production of a literature, which shall do honor, not to the nation only, but to the age and the human race.

It is a psychological law that an individual cannot become conscious of himself, unless he be brought up among men, and have his faculties developed by social influences. So a people will never become consciously great in literature, unless they are awakened and stimulated by external impulses. This has been the case with the nations of Europe in respect to each other, and must be the case with us in our relations to the world. The human race forms *one whole*, of which the different nations are the members. As the whole cannot be complete without its members, so the members cannot be perfected without their whole. And as one spirit pervades the citizens of a nation, expressing itself in that which is common to all its institutions, laws, language, manners, views, etc.; and as a citizen is truly such, when this spirit pervades his thoughts, his feelings and his will; so is there a spirit of the human race,—a spirit of “*humanity*,” as Herder calls it,—which ought to unite nations as the national spirit unites citizens. This spirit of humanity is the spirit of the Christian religion. It is also that of learning and of sound philosophy. Reason and nature are one, in all countries. Yet are they so modified in every separate people, that each is designed to enter into relations to all others, and no one can be perfectly developed by itself. If the investigation of all truth were left to one tribe of men, its peculiarly modified reason might prove insufficient for the task, just in proportion as it would be well adapted to ascertain and exhibit some branches of truth. This is strikingly illustrated by the characteristic productions of the English, the French and the German mind. The development of truth, therefore, belongs to all nations, and that people—other things being equal—which shall most value and study the works of all others, will possess the richest, most varied and most perfect literature.

Where now are the intellectual treasures of ancient Greece and Rome? To whom do they most belong? Undoubtedly to that nation which most

avails itself of their time-honored productions. And to whom most belong Bacon, and Descartes, and Goethe, and Dante, and Calderon, and Camoens? Not alone to the respective countries which gave them birth—not to England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain or Portugal,—but to that, which, by imbibing most of the truth and spirit of these authors, has made them most its own. Carlyle wrote the life of Schiller, and pointed out faults and beauties which would not have occurred to a German; and Shakspeare and Byron may have received, in some respects, a more correct judgment from Germans than they ever have from Englishmen. There is, indeed, hardly a topic or a character in regard to which our views may not be improved, corrected and enlarged by our being informed how it affects other minds, trained under different influences. That nation, then, which would produce a literature worthy of the universal reason and nature of man, must exercise its powers on the whole range of truth; must

—let no spot of idle earth be found,
But cultivate the *genius* of the ground,"

as it exhibits itself in all lands, and in every variety of human character and pursuit.

There are additional considerations still, which alike illustrate the facilities and enforce the obligations of American literature. The first of these is, that the appropriate territory of our country is extensive beyond that of most other nations. It comprises a fraction more than one twentieth part of the land-surface of the globe; and there is no reason to doubt that its population, in less than two centuries, will bear an equal proportion to the millions which will then inhabit the earth. If, therefore, the literature of this country were destined to stand alone, in its influence on the world, its magnitude and variety might soon be expected to attract universal attention. But it stands not alone. Our language is also that of another dominion, whose territories, dependencies and relations are still more extended and multifarious—and united by the ties of blood, of a common Christianity and a constant intercourse, Great Britain and the United States, in all that pertains to literature, are one. Their productions are quickly reciprocated, and those of the one, without even the delay of translation, become the possession of the other; and whatever is attained by either is the property of both.

The English language is probably now spoken by not much less than fifty millions of people, in Europe, Africa, Asia, the United States, Texas, the West Indies, British America and Newfoundland. It is partially spoken, and is constantly gaining in comparative use among a population of one hundred and fifty millions more, in these and other countries, and is the prevalent medium of publication over perhaps a sixth part of the habitable globe. The only other languages which equal or surpass this estimate of extent are those of the Russian and Chinese empires, the Arabian territories and the Spanish dominions. But it is not by the extent of its use alone that we are to measure the importance of this language. It is that it already embodies more of scientific research, of practical invention and moral and religious disquisition than any other. It is also

regarded by competent philologists, as peculiarly well adapted to receive accessions to its stores by means of translations from other languages. In this way the literature of all other countries may be easily incorporated with our own, and thus make it the repository of the thoughts of men of every tongue and every clime. It may be added, that the leading mercantile enterprise of the world is conducted by men speaking this language. The impulses of Christian philanthropy are also greatly extending its influence. A vast majority of those heralds of salvation, who are abroad among the heathen, have gone forth from the bosom of the British and American churches. And while, in the true spirit of liberal learning, they are, every year, sending back to us new and valuable accessions to our stock of knowledge, they are also commending our language and literature, as well as religion, to the darkened and erring millions among whom they labor.

In the light of these suggestions, it may be easily perceived that there are causes at work, both at home and abroad, to constitute ours, peculiarly, the language of Christianity,—of benevolence,—of philanthropy,—and to adapt it more and more to the promotion of a Christian literature, throughout the wide and rapidly increasing sphere of its prevalence. For, though it must be admitted and deplored, that this language has been perverted, that, to an alarming extent, it has been made the medium of infidel communion, the promoter of vice and irreligion, and the vehicle of trifles and of trash;—yet it cannot be denied, that a vast majority of its leading and characteristic productions,—the mass of its *enduring* treasures,—its garnered riches and its living thoughts are indissolubly associated with the deep and moving themes of man's redemption. Doubtless, the English language and the Christian religion are destined to go forth together, hand in hand, with light and love, to bless the nations.

How great, then, is the power of the English tongue! To possess it,—to be trained in the use of it,—is to have our hand upon the main-spring of the moral and intellectual improvement of our race. It is to hold a medium of thought and expression, which is capable of receiving and sending out, to the remotest habitations of man, the lights of science, the refinements of civilization and the impulses of virtue and religion. And it is no reproach to the mother country, to say that this language will soon be less appropriately denominated the *English*, than the *Anglo-American*; for, while England retains her long enjoyed and now established pre-eminence among the nations of the old world, our own republic is entering upon a fresh career of advancement, which is destined to exert a still more expanding influence on the new. Our field is less encumbered by long settled usages adverse to improvement. Our institutions have the vigor of youth, are accordant with the spirit of the times and suited to the new state of society which here exists. If, then, the prospect of the British empire were the reverse of what it is; “if England should fall before a new irruption of barbarians,”* and her light

* See Douglas, on the Advancement of Society in Knowledge and Religion.

should be extinguished for ever, still the English *race* would remain in the western world, and with it, the language of that race,—with whatever in its literature and religion is adapted to affect the higher interests of humanity,—abounding in its native stores, multifarious in its foreign acquisitions, and prepared to receive and dispense new riches of mind.

The facilities, therefore, for embodying a condensed and continuous view of *the literature of the world* exist nowhere else so amply, and nowhere can they be made so available to the benefit of mankind, as in our own country and in our vernacular tongue. Our people, also, are better prepared than any other to embrace and appreciate such a literature. Our institutions encourage the general diffusion of knowledge, and, at the same time, make room for the free and unembarrassed action of the mind in all classes of society. Our literary men are not doomed to toil for the few,—for the privileged class,—but they labor for the many,—for the people;—and all who are disposed to challenge the common privilege of freemen, to know whatever may be known, may have access to, and understand the productions of the most profound and learned authors.

It may be added that the department of *periodical literature*, as at present conducted, as well in Europe as in this country, presents the richest and most varied sources of instruction. It is this alone which comprises all the topics of knowledge. Here all books are reviewed and all discoveries and improvements noticed. The best talents, also, have been enlisted in this class of writings, and authors the most distinguished for learning and practical wisdom in England, France and Germany, have derived not a little of their celebrity from the contributions they have made to the journals of their respective countries. Here, accordingly, are to be found the best specimens of taste, of thought and of reasoning, with every variety of subject which belongs to a universal literature.

With such materials and appliances, and the means which now exist of constant and rapid communication with the most distant lands, we address ourselves to the work before us, confident that its plan will be approved, and that—with the blessing of God, to whose approving Providence it is humbly submitted,—its successful execution will confer a highly moral and Christian, as well as literary benefit on our nation and the many millions to whom our language is or may be accessible. It will not only collect the voices of the civilized world, on the most important subjects, and thus be to American literature in general what *Comparative Anatomy* is to the anatomy of man; but it may be expected to disseminate expanded, noble and Christian views of the universal relations of men,—to remove narrow prejudices and selfish predilections, and thus contribute to restore the brotherhood of the nations, which, from the time of the confusion of tongues on the plains of Shinar, have been scattered and driven asunder, till it is almost forgotten in the earth, that they are of one blood—that reason and nature are common to all,—that truth, beauty and goodness are the monopoly of none, and are only to be perfectly attained and represented, by the co-operating endeavors of the whole race of man, extended from land to land, and from age to age.

ARTICLE II.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF BRITISH PERIODICALS PRIOR TO THE PRESENT CENTURY.

By the Senior Editor.

It is our design, as early as shall be found practicable, in the successive Nos. of the *Eclectic*, to furnish brief sketches of the history and present state of periodical literature, in the several countries from which our selections must be principally made. On topics of interest and importance, it is not enough to know *what* is said in a foreign journal or review; the reader wishes also to be informed *who* has said it, and what allowances should be made for the circumstances, the local or party views and prejudices of the writer. It will be our aim, therefore, to give such a general account of the character of the leading periodical publications of each country, as will enable us, in the above particulars, to answer the reasonable expectations of our readers.

"Periodicals, in the proper sense of the word, are all publications which appear at regular intervals; and in the wide sense which the word has now received, it may even be considered as embracing those publications which,—as is not unfrequently the case in Germany,—appear from time to time, yet neither at regular intervals nor in Nos. of a fixed amount of pages (*zwanglose Hefte*)."^{*} In this sense, the term embraces newspapers, reviews, magazines, repositories, annual registers, the transactions of learned societies, etc., whether devoted to religion, politics, science, the arts, amusement, husbandry, or any other subject.

Thus extended, the periodical press may be regarded as one of the most interesting and momentous consequences of the invention of the art of printing. It is among the most remarkable phenomena of modern times. It has not only become an instrument of a diffusion of knowledge, of which the earlier ages of the world could have had no conception, but it vitally affects all the relations of society, and moulds and shapes the social and political elements of all free nations. Particularly in England, France and the United States, has it become one of the most important parts of the machinery of society. "Without an acquaintance with this department of literature, the present state of knowledge and civilization cannot be understood; and the historian will find it essential to the comprehension of the great movements of our time."[†] Whatever, therefore, may be said against the influence of periodicals—and it must be admitted that the tendency of the lighter classes of these publications has been to amuse and dissipate, rather than to instruct, and that they have produced an almost universal desire for superficial accomplishments;—yet, when

* *Encyclopædia Americana*—Art. Periodicals.† *Ibid.*

conducted with ability, with candor and with truth, they must be regarded as highly useful. They are the means of the spread of useful knowledge over regions and countries, into which the massive productions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries never could have penetrated; and as the circle of civilization has widened, as the various nations have become more and more associated with each other, and as the great interests of mankind have been more deeply investigated and more universally discussed, periodicals have become matters of indispensable necessity. "For a citizen of Athens, the market and the gymnasia may have afforded a sufficient supply of news to keep him acquainted with the events generally interesting to his community; and the wits of Florence may have found the shop of Burchiello* a sufficient centre of intelligence; but our times require much more regular, extensive and effectual means for the diffusion of information on the events and productions of the day, and for the discussion of the numberless important subjects which occupy the minds of men."† The bad influences, then, which have attended publications of this sort, are not to be corrected by discontinuing the issues of the periodical press, or by restricting them to a selected class of topics. Let them be free. Let them discuss, without restraint, every subject of interest to man. But the conductors of them should remember that, here, the pen, like the tongue, when it "boasteth great things," "is a fire, a world of iniquity;" and that they are responsible to the community and to God, so to direct and control its influences, that they shall no longer "set on fire the course of nature;" but contribute at once to enlighten and instruct the public mind, and to strengthen and perpetuate the bonds of virtue and religion.

How far these objects have been accomplished by the periodical press in the old world, will appear in the progress of our proposed sketches of its history. We begin with the periodicals of England, reserving our accounts of those of France, Germany and other countries, for future Nos. of the *Eclectic*, excepting so far as their early history is properly connected with the subject of the present article.

It is not to be presumed that journals and magazines, in some form, were wholly unknown to the ancients. But we have no account of their origin.‡ The first review of books, which has been preserved, is the

* Burchiello was a barber of Florence in the 15th century, and also a satirical poet and musician. *Encyc. Amer.*

† *Encyclopædia Americana*.—Art. Periodicals.

‡ The invention of Reviews, says D'Israeli, in the form which they have at length gradually assumed, could not have existed but in the most polished ages of literature; for without a constant supply of authors, and a refined spirit of criticism, they could not excite a perpetual interest among the lovers of literature. These publications are the chronicles of taste and science, and present the existing state of the public mind, while they form a ready resource for those idle hours which men of letters do not choose to pass idly. *Curiosities of Literature*, vol. I., p. 26.

Bibliotheca of Photius, a patriarch of Constantinople, who lived in the ninth century. This work contains an examination of 280 writers, whose productions were then extant, besides many curious things relating to authors, nowhere else to be found, and may be regarded as the oldest review in existence.* It resembles the early English reviews, which aspired to no higher merit than that of giving extracts from new books, without any critical analysis or discussion of their contents.

The origin of newspapers is to be referred to Italy, which led the way in this, as in many other things which have contributed to modern civilization. The first paper of this sort, of which we have any history, was produced in Venice, during the war of that aristocratical republic against Solyman II., in Dalmatia, 1563. It was a succession of written sheets, issued monthly under the authority of the government, communicating military and commercial information, to be read at particular places by those who desired to learn the news, and who paid for this privilege in a coin, not now in use, called *gazetta*. The name of this coin was by degrees transferred to the newspaper itself in Italy and France, and also, with only a change of termination, in England. D'Israeli says: "The title of their *gazettas* was perhaps derived from *gazzera*, a magpie or chatterer." Others derive it from the Latin *gaza*, which, being colloquially lengthened into *gazetta*, would signify a little treasury of news. A file of these Venetian papers, in manuscript, for sixty years, is preserved in the Magliabecchi library at Florence. "A jealous government," says Chalmers,† "did not allow a printed paper; and the Venetian *gazetta* continued long after the invention of printing, to the close of the sixteenth century, and even to our own days, to be distributed in manuscript."

The writers of newspapers were called by the Italians *menanti*; because, says Vossius, they intended commonly, by these loose papers, to spread abroad defamatory reflections, and were therefore prohibited in Italy, by Gregory XIII., by a particular bull, under the name of *menantes*, from the Latin *minantes*, threatening. Menage, however, derives it from the Italian *menare*, which signifies, "to lead at large," or "spread afar." A writer in the *Encyclopædia Americana* remarks, "that it is common for the Mecklenburg peasantry, as he knows from experience, to call the newspaper *de Logenblad*—the lying paper;—and the German proverb, in use to this day, 'he lies like print'—*er lügt wie gedruckt*—is probably connected with this view of early newspapers."

The first printed newspapers were published in England; several of which are preserved in the British Museum, dated 1588, and issued while the Spanish fleet was lying in the English channel. It was a part of the wise policy of Elizabeth and her counsellors, during a time of general anxiety, to prevent the danger of false reports by publishing real information,

* The best edition of this work is that of Bekker, a French translation of which was announced in 1831, in six volumes, octavo. There are two other editions, that of Vienna, 1601, and that of Rouen, folio, 1653. See *Encyc. Amer. and Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica*.

† See his *Life of Ruddiman*.

These papers were entitled the *English Mercurie*, imprinted at London by her Highness' printer. They were, however, only extraordinary gazettes, not published at regular intervals. They appear to have been skilfully conducted, and D'Israeli gives us a number of examples of their modes of communicating intelligence, which strikingly resemble the best forms adopted at the present day.

Periodical papers seem first to have been more generally used by the English to disseminate sentiments of loyalty or resistance, during the civil wars, in the time of the commonwealth. They were then called *weekly news-books*, and the quaintness which appears in most titles of books, in that age, is found also in the titles of these papers. Besides *News from Hull*,—*Truths from York*,—*Warranted Tidings from Ireland*, etc., we find *The Scot's Dove*, opposed to the *Parliament Kite*, or *The Secret Owl*, etc. "Keener animosities produced keener titles. *Heracles Ridens* found an antagonist in *Democritus Ridens*, and the *Weekly Discoverer* was met by the *Discoverer stript naked*; and *Mercurius Britannicus* was grappled by *Mercurius Mastix*, faithfully lashing all *Scouts*, *Mercuries*, *Posts*, *Spies* and others." There was an alarming number of these *mercuries*, or *news-books*, and they present a very curious picture of those singular times. "Devoted to political purposes," says D'Israeli, "they soon became a public nuisance, by serving as receptacles of party malice, and echoing to the farthest ends of the kingdom the insolent voice of all factions. They set the minds of men more at variance, inflamed their tempers to a greater fierceness, and gave a keener edge to civil discord." He adds a particular account of three notable adventurers in these scurrilous productions, whom he sets forth as leaders in this "minor chronicle of domestic literature." The first is Marchamont Needham, of whom Anthony Wood says: "Siding with the rout and scum of the people, he made them weekly sport by railing at all that was noble, in his *Mercurius Britannicus*, wherein his endeavors were to sacrifice the fame of some lord, or any person of quality, and even the king himself, to the beast with many heads." The royalists had also their Needham, in the person of Sir John Birkenhead. "In buffoonery, keenness and boldness, having been frequently imprisoned, he was not inferior, nor was he, at times, less an adventurer." And Sir Roger L'Estrange, among his rivals, was esteemed the most perfect model of political writing. His temper, however, was factious, and his compositions coarse. Queen Mary showed a due contempt of him, after the revolution, by this anagram:

"Roger L'Estrange,
Lye, strange Roger!"*

Such were the three patriarchs of newspapers in England; and it is to be regretted that, with the passing away of the confusion and recklessness of those times, examples of this sort have not wholly ceased to be imitated. To the shame and scandal of our advanced state of civilization and rational freedom, though the newspaper press, in some of its achieve-

* See *Curiosities of Literature*, vol. I. p. 212, etc., also *Encyc. Amer.* and *Johnson's Lives of the English Poets*.

ments, has nobly vindicated its power and dignity, as a moral and political almoner, there still remain, in the most free and enlightened countries, such heroes of the quill as Needham and Roger L'Étrange, who live upon the vices of the age, who write their paragraphs expressly for the market, and pander to the lowest appetites of men.

But it is not our object to pursue the history of newspapers to the present time. It seemed necessary thus briefly to notice their origin, as introductory to a fuller sketch of that department of periodical literature with which we are more especially concerned.

We will only add that the first regularly published newspaper in Germany was begun in 1612. In France a periodical of this class was started by Renaudot, a physician of Paris, in 1631. At the commencement of the revolution, the French imitated the English newspapers, and as the storm increased, and their passions became more and more heated, they exhibited a degree of violence, of which we can have no adequate conception. Since that period they have changed their characters with the changes of times, and are now perhaps more numerous than those of England.*

The French were the first who established critical journals, properly so called.† The *Bibliotheca Parisiana* of Jacob was established in 1645. This, however, was only a yearly catalogue of new books, without remarks of any kind; but it is supposed to have suggested the idea of the *Journal des Sçavans*, which was commenced in 1665, by Dennis De Sallo, ecclesiastical counsellor in the parliament of Paris, and a man of eminent attainments.‡ This journal was conducted with so much ability that it was not only soon imitated in other principal cities of Europe, but was itself translated into various languages.§ It has been continued in Paris, with a few interruptions, to the present time, and has become an immense work.||

As the *Journal des Sçavans* was the *viæ ductor* of literary journals and reviews in Europe, in the form which they have since assumed, it will not be regarded out of place for us to insert here a brief account of its character and early history. It was a weekly publication, and contained reviews of the most popular and distinguished productions in every depart-

* In a future article, we propose to present a tabular view of the number of newspapers and other periodicals in different countries.

† The earliest periodicals which were devoted to science merely, were published in England. Such were the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, the members of which commenced their meetings in 1645. See The Year-Book, edited by B. B. Edwards, p. 127.

‡ The best authorities make the date of this work 1665, though there is some discrepancy in the authors we have examined; some placing it as early as 1663—just one hundred years after the date of the first newspaper in Venice. See *Bibliotheca Britannica*, and *Enc. Amer.*

§ See D'Israeli's *Curiosities of Literature*, vol. I. p. 25.

|| In 1792, the collection comprised 111 volumes, 4to,—reprinted at Amsterdam, 381 vols. 12mo. See *Encyc. Amer.*

ment of literature. Its style was bold and sarcastic, and exposed the editor to the resentment of the authors, whose productions he held up to ridicule. From some, as D'Israeli remarks, it "excited loud murmurs, and the most heart-moving complaints. Sarasin called the gazettes of this new Aristarchus, *hebdomadary flams*!—and Menage, having published a law-book, which Sallo had treated with severe raillery, entered into a long argument to prove, according to Justinian, that a lawyer is not allowed to defame another lawyer, etc. *Senatori maledicere non licet, remaledicere jus fasque est*. Others loudly declaimed against this new species of imperial tyranny, and this attempt to regulate the public opinion by that of an individual."* To avoid the personal point of these complaints or for some other reason, which can only be conjectured, De Sallo published his journal, not in his own name, but in that of his *valet de chambre*, Sieur de Hédouville.† Under this disguise, he conducted it, for a considerable time, without any assistance from his literary friends; but as he proceeded, he found it necessary to seek contributions from others. He thus availed himself of the aid of some of the most learned men in France. His coadjutors, however, like himself, concealed their names, and thus introduced the fashion of reviewing anonymously, which has been followed by most modern English reviews, and on the influence of which we shall have occasion to remark hereafter.

Notwithstanding the extraordinary popularity of the *Journal*, as D'Israeli again remarks, "De Sallo, after having published only his third volume, felt the irritated wasps of literature thronging so thick about him, that he very gladly abdicated the throne of criticism." There are good grounds, however, for believing that the discontinuance of this remarkable and excellent publication was occasioned by the intrigues of a party, who had sufficient influence at court to procure a decree ordering it to be relinquished, on account of the energy with which the editor had defended the liberties of the Gallican church ‡ But the impression which it had made on the public mind could not be effaced; and the work was afterwards resumed by the abbe Gallois, who wielded the sceptre of criticism with less severity than his predecessor. He sought to make his work acceptable by gentleness and impartiality. But the public, having been accustomed to the raillery and pungent sarcasm of an abler master of the art, were not satisfied with having the most beautiful and curious parts of a new work exhibited. The salt and acid of the former collation were now wanting. Other objections, unreasonable in themselves and conflicting with each other, were raised against the labors of Gallois. It how-

* *Curiosities of Literature*, vol. I. p. 27.

† See *Biblioth. Britan.*

‡ See *Curiosities of Literature*; also an admirable *Preliminary Dissertation*, by Maurice Cross of Belfast, prefixed to his *Selections from the Edinburgh Review*, in six volumes, Paris, 1835, who follows D'Israeli in his account of early literary journals, and to whom we are indebted for some of the most important facts and suggestions comprised in this article.

ever survived all these difficulties. For nine years from 1674, it was conducted by the abbé de la Roque. It then fell into the hands of M. Cousin, who conducted it with considerable ability until 1702, when it became the property of a society of scholars and was issued in monthly Nos. In this form it maintained, for a number of years, a high reputation as a valuable repository of scientific and literary knowledge. In 1792, it was discontinued, and revived in 1816, under the patronage of the crown. Among the contributors to its pages, since its revival, have been De Sacy, Langlès, Raynouard, Raoul-Rochette, Rémusat, Dacier, Quatremère de Quincy, Letronne, Biot, Cuvier, etc.*

The *Mercur de France*, which is still continued, was begun as early as 1672, under the title of *Mercur Galant*. It was originally designed for the amusement of the court, and men of the world, and was very miscellaneous in its contents.

The next distinguished French reviewer is Pierre Bayle, who commenced, in 1684, his *Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres*. This was a monthly journal formed on the model of the *Journal des Sçavans*, and afforded a favorable specimen of the versatile talents of its conductor. So great was the value set upon his writings, that some of the earlier Nos. went through three editions,—an honor to which no subsequent periodical can lay claim.† With many, his principles were not popular, though all admired the erudition and talent displayed in their advocacy. D'Israeli calls him "the discreet skeptic," and the writer already referred to, in the *Church of England Review*, remarks of his work: "Though it was the *avant courier* of his celebrated dictionary, yet it is remarkable for its abstinence from all that shocks the reader in that clever but dangerous work; which was the first to infuse a spirit of infidelity the most determined, by raising doubts and solving them imperfectly." Of the effect which Bayle produced, the best proof is furnished by the writings of such men as Voltaire and Diderot, in France, and Hume and Gibbon, in England, who adopted his plan of weakening what they seemed anxious to defend. But though he declared himself "a reporter, and not a judge," he could not long satisfy his readers. "In his latter volumes, to still the clamor, he assumed the cold sobriety of a historian; and has bequeathed no mean legacy to the literary world, in thirty-six small volumes of criticism, closed in 1687."‡ These were continued by Bernard, with inferior skill; and by Basnage, more successfully, in his *Histoire des Ouvrages des Sçavans*.

* See Encyc. Am., Biblioth. Brit., and an interesting account of the *Journal des Sçavans*, in Rev. Henry Stebbing's "Lectures on Periodical Literature," published in the London *Athenæum* for 1828. See also Cross's Preliminary Dissertation before referred to;—and the Church of England Review for July, 1839, which contains some amusing specimens of Reviews in the *Journal des Sçavans*.

† See Church of England Review, July, 1839. This author should not be confounded with Francis Bayle, a learned French physician, who lived at the same time. See Biblioth. Britan.

‡ See Curiosities of Literature.

The example of De Sallo, as has already been intimated, gave an impulse to periodical literature on the continent. In a few years the leading capitals of Europe were supplied with reviews, to which the first scholars of the age made contributions.

Germany, Spain and Italy preceded England in the date of their earliest literary journals. The first critical periodical published in Germany is the well-known *Acta Eruditorum*—Leipsic 1682, 1776.—It was established by Otto Menkle, and contains many valuable original treatises, as well as reviews. The German periodicals have since become very numerous, and more severely literary and learned than those of the English.—The earliest literary journals of Spain are the *Diario de los Literatos de Espana*—1737—43, 4 vols., and the *Memorial Literario de Madrid*—1784—1807,—which contains little more than an account of the contents of books.—The early Italian journals of criticism are characterized by the completeness of their analyses of works. The first of these was the *Giornale de Letterati d' Italia*—Venice, 1710—33.—It was edited at first by Aposolo Zeno, and is rich in materials of literary history.*

We have noticed the preceding works as the precursors of the literary journals of England, a more full account of which it is our design to give in the present article. In doing this, so far as relates to the journals which preceded the establishment of the present Edinburgh Review, we shall follow the order marked out by Mr. Cross,† and shall freely avail ourselves of his labors, deriving from other sources such corrections and modifications of his statements as are required by the best authorities at our command.

"It would have been singular," says Mr. Cross, "had England, with her unlimited command of able writers in every department of science and literature, not assisted in the establishment of a class of works, the influence of which has been so extensively beneficial." But to us it appears almost equally a matter of wonder, that England was so tardy, and so inefficient in her early labors, in this newly opened field of popular literature. The first publication of this description which appeared in London, was commenced in January, 1688, more than twenty years after the establishment of the *Journal des Sçavans*. It was called *Weekly Memorials, or an Account of Books lately set forth*.‡ And this periodical was entirely unworthy to be compared with those already mentioned in France and Germany. It was little more than a mere advertiser of new works. The next English periodical, was the *History of the Works of the Learned*,

* See Encyc. Amer. ; also Biblioth. Britan.

† Preliminary Dissertation, before referred to.

‡ See Nichol's Literary Anecdotes. See also the Church of England Review (July, 1839), where the "Weekly Memorials" is said to have commenced in 1683 ;—and the reviewer adds: "To the disgrace of the reviewing talent of that day, our countrymen were content for the most part, to translate merely the articles of *Le Journal des Sçavans* and the *Acta Eruditorum*, and thus secured for their work an early death ; for without originality, no periodical either can live or deserves to live."

which was commenced in 1699, and was succeeded by the *Memoirs of Literature*, in 1712, by Michael de la Roche. Among the curious, not to say trifling things, contained in these Memoirs, is an account of a pair of silk stockings, spun from the webs of spiders, and which were presented to the Dutchess of Burgundy by Mr. Bon, a member of the Royal Society of Sciences at Montpellier, who had ascertained not only the superiority of spiders over silk-worms, in spinning a finer thread, but that they afforded a water which was a cure for the gravel and pulmonary complaints, and equal to the Carmelite water in cases of apoplexy.*

The journals which followed, for a number of years, can scarcely be classed among regular reviews. As records of the progress of literature, they are of some value, but are wholly destitute of the interest which might have been awakened by original disquisitions on the subjects of the works noticed. The following are the most important:—The *Weekly Review*, begun, 1704, and continued six years, in London—The *Censura Temporum*, established in 1708, and the *Bibliotheca Curiosa*, begun about the same time. These gave selections from foreign journals and notices of a few remarkable publications. They were followed by the *Memoirs of Literature*, before mentioned, 8 vols. octavo, 1712;—*New Memoirs of Literature*, January, 1725, to December, 1727, 6 vols., and edited by the Rev. Mr. Droz.—It was the first of the quarterlies; and like its predecessors, its chief object was to give translated extracts from foreign periodicals.—*Present State of the Republic of Letters*, by Andrew Reid,—1728 to 1736, 18 vols.; *Historia Literaria*, by Archibald Bower, 1730 to 1732, 4 vols.;—*Literary Journal*, printed at Dublin,—1744 to 1749. There was also published, about this time, a paper entitled the *Weekly Miscellany*, to which John Percival, F. R. S., contributed a number of letters and essays on moral subjects.—To these should be added the *Gentleman's Magazine*,—1731,—which at first consisted merely of selections from newspapers, curious intelligence, etc. It is venerable for its age, and is still continued, under the editorship of Sylvanus Urban. It has acquired celebrity from the early connexion of Dr. Johnson with its publisher. An Index to this work has been published in two vols.—1829,—extending from 1731 to 1818.† In 1737 a second *History of the Works of the Learned* was commenced and continued till 1741. This journal adopted a plan similar to that of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, but it was not well sustained.‡ Another work was commenced in 1746, entitled the *British Magazine*. It was edited by Dr. M'Tait; but it was not well sustained, and was continued only two years.

The *Old Scots' Magazine* was commenced in January, 1739, and was the first magazine in Scotland of the slightest pretensions to talent and importance. It was occasionally supplied with contributions by several eminent individuals; and no similar Scotch work contains so great a variety of miscellaneous, statistical, and local information. Its circulation

* See Church of England Review, ut supra.

† See Encyc. Amer. and Biblioth. Britan.

‡ See Church of England Review, ut supra

was extensive, for a number of years, till it was eclipsed by journals subsequently established of a superior class.*

Among all the works above named, however, we look in vain for a respectable review, which is worthy to be compared with those on the continent. For a period of more than eighty years after the establishment of the *Journal des Sçavans*, in France, no similar work was commenced in England, which did not carry with it the germ of premature decay.

Previously to this date, however, there had sprung up in England a succession of periodicals of a peculiar character. In 1709, Sir Richard Steele commenced the celebrated paper denominated the *Tatler*, which, while it included a portion of the information of a common newspaper, was in part devoted to essays on a great variety of subjects. These were distinguished for a raciness and vivacity of style, which had not been before attained in our language. This work was continued about two years, when it was succeeded, in March, 1711, by the *Spectator*, under charge of the same editor, which was continued daily till December, 1712. The *Spectator* having terminated, Mr. Steele commenced the *Guardian* in 1713. After the latter work was closed, the *Spectator* was revived, and continued until it numbered eight volumes. To all of these papers, and especially to the *Spectator*, the celebrated Joseph Addison was a frequent contributor. They took their leading character, indeed, from his genius, and became so popular that 20,000 copies are said to have been distributed at one time. They are among the classics of English literature, and the works of Addison in these papers have been, as they deserve to be, constantly reprinted, till his name inspires delight wherever the English language and literature are cultivated. His articles set the first example of instructing the public mind, at short periods, with essays, tales, allegories and criticisms. He not only brought a good philological taste into fashion, but gave a pleasing and popular turn to religious and moral studies. This kind of writing was new, and more adapted to produce an effect on the great mass of society than any literary productions which had preceded it. It describes and characterizes the manners of the times, delineates character, exposes the follies and reproves the vices which are countenanced by the fashions and usages of society. It has contributed much to reform the taste of the English nation, and to change and beautify the character of modern periodical literature.† This it has done, not so much by exhibiting an example in all respects worthy of imitation, as by breaking up the dead level of style, which had prevailed, and producing a literary life and vivacity, which had not before been realized. The spirit thus awakened, however, was not contented to remain amid the fascinations of Steele and Addison. Times were coming, and events were at hand, which gave a new direction to the quickened intellect of the British nation, turned the minds of the people away from "the still waters," and the "green pastures," of polite and tasteful literature, and plunged them into the

* See Gough's *British Antiquities*.

† See Drake's "Essays, Biographical, Critical and Historical," also *Encyc. Amer.*, and Dibdin's "Library Companion."

agitated ocean of political and religious discussion. Periodicals, therefore, were soon required to assume a more commanding tone, and to deal more directly with matters of fact and the every-day interests of men. Graphic sketches of manners, and playful satires on fashionable amusements, and the habits and frivolities of the higher classes, while they are at all times attractive and amusing, and while they prepare the mind for the conception of more solid compositions and loftier flights of genius, are ill adapted to times of absorbing controversy or daring enterprise. Hence the *Tatler* and the *Spectator* were destined to sink, in after times, into comparative neglect. They were preserved only to adorn the pleasure grounds of literature, while a more practical, business-like style of discussion took their place in the leading British periodicals. But this change was not effected in a day. It was brought on by gradual advances from the middle to the close of the last century; and was not fully realized till since the establishment of the present *Edinburgh Review*.

The last remark is in advance of the plan of our sketch. We return to the point in the history of periodicals, from which we have been allured by the fascinating compositions we have now described.

The system of criticism, which had been rendered so effective by the talents and learning of De Sallo and Bayle, was first adopted in England by Ralph Griffith, Esq., the first editor of the *Monthly Review*. This old and respectable journal was established in 1749, and was conducted by its founder for more than half a century, during which period it was distinguished for literary talent and political honesty. In 1803, R. Griffith, jr. succeeded his father as editor, and continued his labors till May, 1825, when he was compelled by ill health to relinquish a situation, which he had occupied with honor to himself and advantage to the public.

"The different series of the *Monthly Review* contain a vast accumulation of general knowledge, and many admirable specimens of philosophical and impartial criticism. It was the first journal which skilfully combined an analysis of books with critical strictures on their character and the topics of which they treated. Disquisitions on the subjects of works were only occasionally introduced; and were contributed by men of established celebrity in the republic of letters. The criticisms were in general neither too brief nor too elaborate; but gave a fair abstract of an author's productions, accompanied by a discriminating commentary on their excellencies and defects. Its views on political subjects were always comprehensive and enlightened, and advocated, under circumstances the most discouraging, with firmness, talent and integrity. On questions of a religious nature, it was favorable to the opinions of the Unitarian party, but its support was invariably rendered in a tolerant spirit. The rights of conscience were strenuously defended by its conductors. Persecution was never justified in the name of religion, nor disabilities, whether civil or political, vindicated as necessary to the existence of the British constitution. Upon the whole, it may be said with truth, of this useful journal, that, for a period exceeding seventy years, it has been the 'steady and independent advocate of the general interests of literature, of moral virtue, of political freedom and religious liberty, unawed by the threatening aspect of the

worst of times, and unseduced by the allurements of days of peace and pleasure, which it has been alike its fortune to witness in its protracted career.””*

The self-praise of the *Monthly*, which is here so fully seconded by Mr. Cross, does not appear to be altogether justified by the entire course of that Review. The *Christian Observer* contains an article of severe, though somewhat candid strictures upon it, which are so satisfactorily sustained, that we cannot withhold our assent to the justice of a portion, at least, of the censure which it expresses. “Sorry are we,” says the writer of this article, “to add, that its conductors can by no means be allowed the praise of being unprejudiced critics; that not less than their brethren, the Critical Reviewers, they betray a decided partiality for the friends of innovation; and that, under the affectation of rationality, liberty, reformation, and progressive improvement, they countenance those writers who disparage our established religion and government, mutilate the doctrines of Christianity, and lessen men’s reverence for the Bible itself.”† All of these charges, we think, are fully sustained by references to the work, and however much we may differ from the writer, in opinion on some of these points, we must withhold our praise from the anti-biblical and anti-religious character and tendency of the *Monthly Review*. As to its “approbation of democracy and dissent,” as the terms were then understood, its positions are such as most of our countrymen approve; but far be it from us to associate these things with irreligion, as was often done by the advocates of political and ecclesiastical liberty, in the eighteenth century.

At the period when the *Monthly Review* was commenced, skepticism and infidelity had become prevalent on the continent, and the off-shoots of the tree which had been planted by Bayle and Le Clerc, in France, were early seen in the periodical literature of England. “Its greatest show of blossom,” says a writer already referred to, “was destined to appear, like the aloe, after the lapse of a century, among the leaves of the *Edinburgh*; and though the French Revolution has given the world a taste of the fruit, which once looked as tempting as the fabled oranges of the Hesperides, yet have they proved as bitter as the cinder-apples of the Dead Sea.”‡ In proof of the leaning of the early Nos. of the *Monthly Review* towards Socinianism, the same writer adduces the following instance, among others, which is also illustrative of the subsequent history of this venerable mother of the English reviews. “In the No. for June, 1749, is the review of a work under the title of *Man a Machine*, said to be translated from the French of Le Marquis d’Argens. The real author was one De la Mettrie, a celebrated physician, who was obliged to quit France for his heterodox opinions, and found refuge at Berlin. He was, like the late Thomas Taylor, a pantheist; but as he spoke out plainly,

* See Cross’s Preliminary Dissertation; also preface to vol. CVI. of the *Monthly Review*.

† See *Christian Observer*, 1802, Vol. I., p. 385.

‡ *Church of England Review*, Oct. 1839.

and showed to what conclusions the principles of the Marquis would fairly lead, if carried out fully, he was decried by the Socinians of that day, just as he would be now by the same party. That the principles of the *Monthly Review* were of that creed, is a fact known to all acquainted with the work, till the time when it changed proprietors. It had been in the hands of the Griffiths, father and son, for the period of seventy-six years, and was carried on in a manner equally honorable to them, and satisfactory to their contributors and supporters. In 1826, it passed into new hands, and subsequently into those of its present owners; and by a strange metamorphosis, the organ of the Socinians has now become that of the moderate Catholics, amongst whom it is principally circulated, especially in Ireland. The copy which once belonged to the original proprietors is still in existence, with the names of the principal contributors. Among these, not a few are to be found who had reviewed their own publications.^{22*}

The last remark above quoted furnishes an instructive commentary on the system of anonymous reviewing, so early adopted and so generally followed. It may well be questioned whether a system, which affords a cover for so much chicanery as has doubtless been practised under it, can be sustained by the maxims of honorable intercourse, to say nothing of Christian candor and fairness. That it is attended with some advantages, we readily admit. Where severity alone is the desert of an author, it is more likely to be administered in this way, without mixture, than by the reviewer who writes under his own proper name. The writer, in his *incognito*, has no character of his own to maintain, and is free to destroy that of another, without let or hinderance. So in the infliction of moderate censure, he is saved the necessity of personal apologies, and may assail the high and the low with equal fearlessness and justice. But it is to be lamented that a sense of justice is not always the crowning characteristic of the anonymous reviewer. Passions, hostile to the peaceful truths of literature, and opposed to the claims of individual justice, may here be indulged with impunity. Hence "puerile critics and venal drudges" have been employed to manufacture reviews; and literary conspiracies† have been formed, to the scorn and scandal of criticism. And the terror of reviewers, which has been so generally felt by sensitive authors of small experience, has been produced by the recklessness, rather than the justice, of those who, thus clothed in mystery, have ascended the throne of criticism. How often have the caustic leaves of a review been seasoned with sarcasm merely to catch the public attention! Personal malignity against authors, on the one hand, has been indulged without restraint, while, on the other, the most vapid panegyric has been allowed to be uttered, not by their friends only, but by authors themselves, in praise of their own

* See Church of England Review, October, 1839.

† See that of Gilbert Stuart against the historian Henry, related by D'Israeli in his "Calamities of Authors." See also an interesting article on "Literary Impostures," by D. Fosdick, jr., American Biblical Repository, Jan. 1838, p. 39.

productions! A system which opens the door to such flagrant abuses, and under which they have so often occurred, ought surely to be pondered well before it can be properly judged to be the best mode of conducting reviews. For ourselves, we would rather see the names of their contributors so paraded before the public as to compel them to "dwell in decencies for ever," than by their concealment, with all its advantages, to incur consequences so disastrous. The best of the English reviews, however, have, in general, maintained a more lofty and honorable course, notwithstanding the temptations incident to the plan on which they have been conducted.

The success of the *Monthly Review* led to the establishment of several other critical journals. The rapidity with which they followed each other may be regarded as proof of the growing taste in England for literature in general. "When authors were few, books rare, and the great majority of the nation without the means of instruction, the want of reviews was not felt. They are the offspring of an improved state of society, and their progress has kept pace with the advancement of knowledge." It will not appear surprising, therefore, that, from the date of the *Monthly Review*, periodical criticism assumed a more important character, and was sought after with greater avidity.

"About a year after Mr. Griffith commenced his work, Dr. Matthew Maty published the first No. of the *Journal Britannique*, which continued for five years." It was issued every two months at the Hague, and contained an account, in French, of the principal books published in England. It exhibited extensive literary information, and met with a favorable reception. Dr. Maty was originally a physician at Leyden, and settled in England in 1740. His learning and genius recommended him to the most eminent scholars of his day.

We come now to the date of the first *Edinburgh Review*; for it is an interesting fact that the first journal in Scotland, exclusively devoted to criticism, was published with this title. It was commenced in July, 1755, and closed with its second No., January, 1756. It was undertaken by several gentlemen, who afterwards rose to the highest distinction in the literary world; and it is to be regretted that the spirit of the times was not such as to encourage their labors in this laudable enterprise. Its design, as quoted by Mr. Cross from the original preface to this Review, was to "lay before the public, from time to time, a view of the progressive state of learning in Scotland; to give a full account of all books published there within the compass of half a year; and to take some notice of such books, published elsewhere, as are most read in this country, or seem to have any title to draw the public attention."

This Review, like that of De Sallo and most others which had preceded it, was conducted with entire secrecy as to the names of its writers. Eight articles were from the pen of Dr. Robertson the historian, and several were by Adam Smith, while Dr. Blair wrote literary criticisms, and the Rev. Mr. Jardine reviewed works on theology. David Hume, though he was the intimate friend and associate of several, and perhaps all these gentlemen, was cautiously excluded from any share in

their work, or knowledge of their proceedings; and when the Review appeared, he did not even suspect the sources of its contributions. The reason of this extreme caution undoubtedly was, that, at that time, the orthodox party in Scotland had already become alarmed at the influence of Hume's philosophical writings. In 1754, a complaint to the General Assembly against the writings of Mr. Hume and Lord Kames was with difficulty eluded by the friends of free discussion. The writers of the Review were aware of the danger to which they were exposed by these circumstances; and having stated in their prefatory address, their determination at all times to oppose irreligious doctrines, they could not, with any consistency, admit an avowed deist to their literary counsels.* Even this, however, was not enough to satisfy the nervous sensitiveness of the Scotch, at that time, on the subject of religion; and a work thus begun, under the most favorable auspices, sustained by the first talents of the age, and which might have conferred lasting benefits on the cause of literature, science and truth, was hurried to a premature extinction.†

"The same year that saw the downfall of the first *Edinburgh Review*, gave birth to the *Critical Journal*; or *Annals of Literature*. This was a London periodical, projected by Mr. Archibald Hamilton, a native of Scotland, and by profession a printer." By the talent exhibited in this

* Mackenzie, in his *Life of John Home*, assigns another reason for concealing from Mr. Hume the secrets of this Review, and relates the following anecdote, as quoted by Mr. Cross:

"I have heard," says the author of the *Man of Feeling*, "that the conductors of the *Edinburgh Review* were afraid of both Mr. Hume's good-nature and his extreme artlessness; that from the one their criticisms would have been weakened and suppressed, and from the other the secret would have been discovered. The contents of the work strongly attracted his attention, and he expressed his surprise to some of the gentlemen concerned in it, with whom he was daily in the habit of meeting, at the excellence of a performance, written, as he presumed, by some persons out of their own literary circle. It was at length agreed to communicate to him the secret. At a dinner, which was given by one of the number, he repeated his wonder on the subject of the review. One of the company said he knew the authors, and would name them to Mr. Hume on his giving an oath of secrecy. 'How is the oath to be taken,' said David, with his usual pleasantry, 'of a man accused of so much skepticism as I am? You would not trust my *Bible-oath*; but I will swear by the τὸ καλὸν and the τὸ ἀγέγον, never to reveal your secret.' He was then told the names of the authors, and the plan of the work; but it was not continued long enough to allow of his contributing any articles. *Mackenzie's Life of Home*, p. 25.

† Mr. Cross gives a long extract from the preface to a new edition of this first *Edinburgh Review*, with explanatory notes, published in 1818, which fully states the causes of the discontinuance of the work so soon after its commencement. As a sketch of the state of religious parties in Scotland, at the middle of the last century, it is also a document of considerable interest.

undertaking he was brought to the notice of many persons of literary eminence, among whom was Dr. Smollet. With his assistance, Hamilton, the same year, 1756, established also the *Critical Review*. This journal was the unflinching advocate of tory and high church principles. The *Monthly Review* had already obtained considerable influence as the organ of the Whigs and Dissenters; and it was deemed expedient by the conductors of the new undertaking, to occupy the opposite ground and defend the doctrines of church and state. Another object with these writers was "to oppose, indirectly, the Socinianism of the *Monthly*;" but their work "was not written with sufficient ability to produce much effect."* Mr. Cross, however, speaks in the highest terms of the zeal and ability with which they supported their positions in the *Critical Review*. "The work assumed a high rank in periodical criticism, and enjoyed for many years the patronage of a large circle of friends. It numbered among its regular contributors, some of the master minds of the age. Johnson was the author of several able articles, and several were furnished by Whitaker the historian. One of the most efficient and active writers was the Rev. Joseph Robertson, who, in the course of twenty-one years, contributed to this Review 2,620 articles on theological, classical, poetical and miscellaneous subjects."†

But whatever may be said in praise of this Review, and though its editors commenced their labors with the fairest professions of a determination to conduct their criticisms with dignity and impartiality, yet its spirit was by no means commendable. Of the contributions of Smollet, Dr. Anderson remarks:—"His critical strictures evinced sufficient taste and judgment, but too much irritability and impatience, when any of the incensed authors, whose performances he had censured, attempted to retaliate; and a degree of acrimony of style, and intemperance of language, that involved him in a variety of disputes, frequently more vexatious than creditable."‡ The following specimen of this severity of style is found among other passages quoted in the *Church of England Review*, from the preface to the second volume of the work under consideration.—"In spite of open assault and private assassination, of published reproach and printed letters of abuse, distributed like poisoned arrows in the dark, the *Critical Review* has not only maintained its footing, but considerably extended its progress. The breath of secret calumny has excited a spirit of inquiry and comparison, from which the loud blasts of obloquy, instead of tearing it up, have served only to prove its strength, and fix its roots the deeper." This Review, however, has served its purpose and numbered its days, and is now to be found only upon the dusty shelves of overloaded libraries. After exhibiting for some time symptoms of decay, it closed its career in 1817.

* See *Church of England Review*, Oct. 1839.

† See a sketch of his Life in *Nichol's Literary Anecdotes*, vol. III. p. 504. In the same work there is a Memoir of Mr. Hamilton, who established the *Critical Review*, Vol. III. p. 398.

‡ Anderson's Life of Smollet, p. 53.

In 1756 also appeared the *Literary Magazine, or Universal Review*, only a few months after the commencement of the *Critical Review*. The introductory address was from the pen of Dr. Johnson, and contains a perspicuous statement of the objects of the work. "The literary history," he remarks, "necessarily contains an account of the labors of the learned; in which, whether we shall show much judgment or sagacity, must be left to our readers to determine; we can promise only justness and candor. It is not to be expected that we can insert extensive extracts, or critical examinations of all the writings, which this age of authors may offer to our notice. A few only will deserve the distinction of criticism, and a few only will obtain it. We shall try to select the best and most important pieces; and are not without hope, that we may sometimes influence the public voice, and hasten the popularity of a valuable work." Johnson wrote twenty-five reviews for this journal, besides a number of articles on miscellaneous subjects, among which, as might be expected, are some of very great literary and intellectual merit. Dr. Drake, in his *Life of Johnson*, characterizes his review of "Jenyn's Free Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Evil," as a "masterly disquisition on a subject of great metaphysical obscurity, and a complete refutation and exposure of the weak and arrogant parts of that singular production."

In July, 1757, the *Edinburgh Magazine* was commenced by Walter Ruddiman, and continued till 1762, at which time, having numbered six volumes, it was given up. The son of Thomas Ruddiman, a celebrated grammarian, resumed it, under the name of the *Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement*, which he edited for many years, until it reached its fifty-ninth volume, in March, 1784.

"In 1773, another attempt was made in Edinburgh to improve the character of Scotch periodical literature, by establishing a work that should perform the double office of a magazine and a critical journal. This publication appeared under the title of the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review*." It was originated and conducted for three years by the celebrated Gilbert Stuart, LL. D. and William Smellie, F. R. S., author of the "Philosophy of Natural History." Reviews of books did not form the most important part of their plan. Their object was to attract the public by the variety and novelty of their matter; and the contents of the work furnish ample proof that their promises were fully performed. "The execution of every department," says Mr. Cross, "is superior to that of the general run of previous periodical publications. Many of the articles comprise much useful information, and are not deficient in the graces of composition. Unfortunately, however, many of Dr. Stuart's articles are chargeable with unjust severity, and are not unfrequently disfigured by gross prejudices and personalities; and the dissatisfaction which was thus occasioned contributed to the failure of the undertaking." There was, however, at that time, an unusual excitement in Edinburgh, produced by theological controversy. Some essays had appeared in the *Magazine* which were regarded as unfavorable to orthodox belief, and subversive of evangelical religion. Such an imputation, whether well or ill founded, formed an impassable barrier to the progress of the work, and

contributed, as in the case of the first *Edinburgh Review*, to diminish the popularity of the publication, and bring it to a sudden close.*

In 1775, the *London Review* was started by Dr. Kenrick. It is said to have been the first English Review that furnished copper-plate engravings to illustrate the works it noticed on antiquity, natural history, science and the arts. It proposed to itself an elevated standard, and was manifestly desirous of taking high ground. "It is our duty and inclination," say the editors, in a review of *Harris's Philosophical Arrangements*, "to convey rather useful information and refined entertainment, by expatiating on the merits of valuable productions, than to afford the transient amusement of unprofitable pleasantries, by dwelling on defects and exposing errors." The history of criticism, however, confirms the truth of the remark of Sir Walter Scott, that reviews are too often written to show off the talents of the critic, rather than those of the author; and as a person so disposed, can always abuse with greater ease and effect than he can praise, it is not surprising that the *London Review*, which adopted the principle of speaking well of authors instead of ill, lived only five years. It however acquired a reputation which is alike honorable to its conductors and the age in which they wrote.

The *Mirror* and the *Lounger* were of a different character from the periodicals enumerated in the foregoing remarks, being not what are generally included in the denomination of Magazines, or Reviews. They were written in the manner of the *Tatler* and the *Spectator*, and may with more propriety be denominated classical essays. The *Mirror* was commenced in January, 1779, and was issued every Tuesday and Saturday until 1790. The *Lounger* which may perhaps be considered as a continuation of the *Mirror*, was conducted by the same writers, commencing in 1785, and terminating 1787. About three years after the *Lounger* was discontinued, Dr. James Anderson established the *Bee*, a weekly paper, consisting of light essays on miscellaneous subjects, occasionally blended with dissertations of a philosophical and political character. It was begun in December 1790, and was regularly continued until it numbered eighteen volumes, when it terminated for the want of adequate support.†

In 1780 there was commenced in London, a professional journal, called the *Foreign Medical Review*, but of its history after the first volume we have no account.‡

Of less pretension than the *London*, was the *New Review*, commenced in 1782; by the Rev. Paul Henry Maty, son of Dr. Maty, editor of the *Journal Britannique*, of which a notice has been already given. It

* In the Memoirs of William Smellie there is a minute account of the origin, progress and extinction of this journal.

† Dr. Drake names a work called the *Tatler*, on a plan similar to that of the *Mirror*, which was published in Edinburgh as early as 1711. But of its history and character he was not able to obtain any information. See *Drake's Essays*, Vol. II. pp. 366 and 374.

‡ See Biblioth. Britan.

consisted principally of notices of foreign publications, and was discontinued in 1786, in consequence of the ill health of Mr. Maty, who appears to have been nearly alone in the management of this work. Porson is supposed to have aided him in the Classical department, and had he been backed by others equally competent in other portions of his work, it would scarcely have come to so early an end.

The same year, 1782, a weekly journal was started in Edinburgh, entitled the *North British Magazine, or Caledonian Miscellany of Knowledge, Instruction and Entertainment*. But for some reason, of which we are not informed, it was continued only a year.

In 1783, appeared the *English Review*, edited by Gilbert Stuart, with the assistance of Mr. Smellie. It proposed to notice "every book and pamphlet published in England, Scotland, Ireland and America, and occasionally those in France, Italy, Germany and Spain; to contain memoirs of celebrated literary characters; and to give an account of the state of art, especially the drama, together with a monthly retrospect of the political state of Europe." It was continued until 1798, and numbered thirty volumes.* These volumes contain various specimens of sound and impartial criticism. An article on "Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," in which the skeptical tendency of that ingenious work is keenly exposed, is said to have been contributed by Mr. Whitaker, and to have increased the reputation of the work. But its contributions, generally, are not of a superior order.

We have not been able to ascertain the date at which the *London Magazine* was commenced. In 1783-4-5, the *London Magazine Enlarged* was under the editorship of Dr. C. Burney. It contains, what one would least expect to find in such a periodical, a review of "Burton's edition of *Marrilius*," written by Dr. Parr, and subsequently reprinted in the *Classical Journal*. To the same author is attributed another communication on Luke vi. 4. There are also a few papers in the same work, written in imitation of Steele and Addison, and in ridicule of Macpherson's *Ossian*, which are suspected to be from the pen of Porson, who, from his articles in the *Morning Chronicle*, which were afterwards published in the first volume of the *Spirit of the Public Journals*, was known to be partial to such imitations and parodies.

In 1785, James Sibbald made a successful commencement of the *Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany*. In the hands of this gentleman it maintained a somewhat prosperous existence till 1792, when it was relinquished. At the beginning of the next year, however, a new series of the same work was commenced by Dr. James Anderson, under

* The Church of England Review (Oct. 1839) makes the date of the discontinuance of this journal 1796, and adds: "But, as 'they said they had no partialities or prejudices to gratify, and were not impelled by any party motives,' we are only astonished that it continued to live as long as it did. Sure we are that in England, no periodical could exist beyond half a dozen numbers, that trusted for support to the trimmers in politics and the neutrals in religion."

whose care it prospered until 1803, when it was incorporated with the *Old Scots' Magazine*.

The next periodical claiming our notice is the *Analytical Review*, or a *History of Literature, Domestic and Foreign*. It was commenced in 1788, and lived through the stormy period of the French Revolution, of which it was an apologist. It was edited by Mr. Thomas Christie, and professes, in its introductory address, a determination to be impartial and modest, reserving to itself, however, the right of raising the rod of criticism, wherever absurdity or immorality is attempted to be imposed on the public. But this right, it seldom exercised, excepting against such as were opposed to the revolution. Several articles in this work exhibit considerable spirit, talent and acumen; but the mass of its contributions were not remarkable for any thing attractive or profound. It was confessedly modelled on Dr. Maty's Review, especially in the departments of literary news and notices of foreign works, and like that of Maty, its views on religious subjects were Socinian. It was continued until it numbered twenty-two volumes.

The *British Critic*, or *Theological Review* was commenced in 1793, under the editorship of Archdeacon Nares, who, like Maty, was one of the Librarians of the Museum. "His criticisms," says Mr. Cross, "have been warmly commended for their erudition, judgment and sagacity. Some of the brightest ornaments of the established church were associated with him in his labors; but his most efficient and popular coadjutor was Mr. Beloe, translator of Herodotus. The primary object of this Journal is to uphold the doctrines and discipline of the Church of England. Its circulation, therefore, is principally confined to the divines and members of that party. Many of its articles are of a controversial character, and exhibit the peculiar spirit which religious controversy invariably generates. Notwithstanding this defect, it has been ably and skilfully conducted. Its best articles testify the research and zeal of their writers. If their efforts have not been always distinguished by enlarged views on disputed and mysterious points of faith, concerning which it is absurd to suppose that mankind will ever agree in opinion, they deserve praise for their exertions for the cause of Christianity against the insidious designs of false friends, and the open, though impotent assaults of its adversaries." The *Christian Observer* bestows similar praise upon this journal;* though it contains severe censures of some particular articles. It is certain that the course of the *British Critic*, has not always been uniform, or consistent with itself, on some points of considerable interest and importance. As far back as 1813, and previously, it was the stanch friend and advocate of the *British and Foreign Bible Society*, as may be seen by an article in the No. for March, of that year, pp. 309, 310. In 1815, however, this same work was found among the most zealous opposers of the Bible Society, because, by publishing and circulating the Bible without the Episcopal *Prayer-Book*, it was supposed that they were aiding the progress of other denominations of Christians, at the expense and

* See *Christian Observer*, 1803, Vol. II. p. 311.

to the detriment of the established church; and that their operations were injurious to the "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," which has ever been a powerful auxiliary of the Church of England.* The following remarks, from the *Church of England Review*, concerning the *British Critic*, are perhaps not wholly free from that *peculiar spirit* of religious controversy above alluded to. We give them, however, as exhibiting the estimate placed upon this journal by a respectable portion of the same church, for the defence of whose doctrines and usages it was established. "After blazing away," says this writer, "for some time, with considerable vigor, its fire began to slacken, and its sale to diminish, until just as it was going to expire, like the snuff of a candle, it underwent a kind of chrysalis change, and appeared not as a monthly, but as a quarterly periodical, devoted entirely to clerical publications. For some time it spoke the sentiments of the moderate church party; but it is now the organ of the Puseyites, whose attempts to bring back the Protestants of Oxford to the papacy of Rome we have had occasion to lament, and still more their mistaken zeal in raising the Fathers of the church upon the ruins of the Apostles of Christ."†

In 1794, a periodical was started with the title of the *Literary Review*, but appears to have had a brief existence.‡

The *Medical and Chirurgical Review* was also commenced the same year.

The last important periodical which claims our attention before the commencement of the present century is the *Anti-Jacobin Review*.|| This was a monthly publication, and was the successor of a celebrated weekly paper of the same title. It appears to have been established to counteract the Socinian and revolutionary principles of the *Monthly and Analytical Reviews*, and the *Monthly Magazine*. It was continued until 1821; and from the farewell address of the editor, at the end of the last volume, as referred to in the *Church of England Review*, it appears that its original editor was Mr. John Gifford, "that its contributors were distinguished men both in the church and the state, who had united their talents to curb the fury of the democratic press; to show up the levelling senator; to expose the ambitious views of the demagogue, and to ridicule the religious preten-

* Christ. Obs., 1815, Vol. XVI. p. 23. See also Biblioth. Britan.

† Church of England Review, October, 1839. See also the Am. Bib. Repos. July, 1840, p. 168.

‡ See Biblioth. Britan.

|| Before the date of the *Anti-Jacobin Review*, there were attempted several papers of a lighter character, which were fit successors of the *Lounger*, the *Bee*, etc. One of these appeared under the name of *Felix Phantom*, composed of short and playful articles dated from *Fairy Land*. It lasted only a few months, from April to November, 1796. "The Ghost" also made its appearance; but, failing to attract much attention, it was suddenly given up. Another ephemeral journal, called *The Trifle*, enjoyed a brief existence at the same time with *Felix Phantom*, and was equally destitute of ability and interest. See Cross's Preliminary Dissertation, and Drake's Essays before referred to.

sions of puritanical rebels. All," we are told, "suffered under the lash, and by its just and powerful criticisms were first reduced to silence, and then led, by reflection, to renounce their previous showy but unsound opinions."

That a portion of this self-commendation was founded in truth may, perhaps, be fairly conceded. It is certain that its earliest Nos. were written with considerable power, and by able hands. But, having commenced with pretensions and adopted a style which were suited only to times of hot debate and exciting controversy, it was destined to wane, and become uninteresting on the return of more peaceful scenes. This was the first English periodical which devoted regularly a portion of its pages to *Reviews Reviewed*; and in this department the editor seems to have "laid around" him with more valor than discretion, and to have indulged a degree of acrimony, which made him no friends excepting among the strong and excited adherents of his party. The *Anti-Jacobin* was embellished with political caricatures, in which are to be seen Southey and others, as the supporters of revolutionary principles which they have long since abjured. It carried into religious controversy the same reckless, bold and abusive style which it used in its assaults on political men and measures. Its attacks on the *Christian Observer* are disgracefully coarse and uncandid. Its publication of a proposal for the abolition of subscription to the thirty-nine articles, was mildly and firmly opposed by the latter work. In their reply, the *Anti-Jacobin* reviewers sneeringly declare, that they are *no regular readers* of the *Christian Observer*, and that they feel themselves little inclined to become so. Yet they proceed to wield the most cutting invective against the conductors of that Miscellany, calling them *enthusiasts, patrons of the Calvinistic Methodism, an upstart sect, extravagant Antinomians*, as *deserving of the most unqualified reprobation*, etc. etc., and proceed to charge upon them numerous errors in doctrine, to which the editors of the *Observer* reply that they have, on no occasion, affirmed any one of the doctrines thus attributed to them. "We can add with truth," they continue to say, "that none of them are likely to be affirmed by us; and for a very sufficient reason, because we do not believe them to be true."*

We add the following from the *Church of England Review*, as giving the *finale* of the periodical under consideration, and as exhibiting a state of things, of which, in some respects at least, present events in our own country are only a reflection. "Brilliant as was the first burst of the *Anti-Jacobin*, it exhibited, towards the end of its career, all the decrepitude of age. Nor is this to be wondered at. The only recompense the original editor obtained for all his exertions, was the paltry place of a magistrate at Worship-street; by which he was so vastly enriched that his widow and orphans were rescued from actual want by private bounty alone. Hence his successor felt little disposed to devote himself to a cause from which so little was to be gained. Besides, the 'piping time of peace,' had directed men's thoughts to a new channel; and they who, when boys,

* See *Christian Observer*, 1804, Vol. III. pp. 707, 708.

had read of the benefits of reform, felt no desire to see it put in practice; while the losses that many had sustained by the return to a metallic currency, threw even the old Tories into the ranks of the Whigs, who predicted that the age of gold would be the golden age, and a reform in Parliament the forerunner of a reform in their household bills; forgetting, however, that the commerce of a country, like England, where the productive powers of the machine have been increased without limit, requires the expansive facilities of paper credit; and that if it be confined by a restricted metallic currency, it must labor like a locomotive when ascending an incline, or, like a fish out of water, remain quiescent for a time, and then give one convulsive kick,—and die.”*

We are by no means prepared to say that we have included in the preceding sketch, all the important periodicals which were published in England before the close of the last century. Most of them, however, have been noticed, and certainly the most favorable specimens,—enough to enable the reader to judge of the state of periodical literature, in Great Britain, prior to the commencement of the *Edinburgh Review*. That they were occasionally enriched by the contributions of men who occupied an elevated rank in the world of letters, has been proved by a reference to many well-known names. But, “if their value is to be estimated by that of the general mass of their contents,” says Mr. Cross, “it would be untrue to affirm that they possess much merit.” We are not convinced, however, of the entire justness of this remark. Criticism, it is true, had not then attained to the dignity and philosophical accuracy which it has since reached in some of the best modern reviews. Most of the critical journals, therefore, were dry and uninteresting. Their articles, generally, were little more than advertisements of new works; and the reviewers applauded and condemned, in the most arbitrary manner, what they did not condescend to explain. The excellencies or defects of an author were often despatched in a sentence, or left to be ascertained by a series of extracts, made without skill or discrimination. A philosophical exposition of the topics treated was seldom attempted. It is true also that in the department of politics, there was a grievous lack of depth and information. Furious philippics against whigs or tories, and lampoons in ridicule of conspicuous characters were not uncommon. But luminous views of great political questions were seldom given. The science of government was not expounded in an enlarged and philosophical spirit, as in the best political reviews of more modern date.

It should be remembered, however, that we have thus far contemplated periodical literature in its infancy; and that even in its earliest developments, it exhibited not a few specimens of brilliant genius, discriminating judgment and taste, and a power to influence the conduct of statesmen and control the opinions of the community. Yet this power was not often exerted. The fashion of the preceding age was unfavorable to the introduction of this species of literature. The high reputation

* Church of England Review, October, 1839, p. 369.

which had already attached to the solid, voluminous and systematic works of such men as Shakspeare, Milton, Bacon, Fuller, Hooker, Brown, Taylor, Sidney and Harrington, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was adverse to the introduction, at once, of a lighter and more miscellaneous literature. Men of the first talents seemed to have entered with caution upon the doubtful experiment of acquiring either fame or usefulness by their contributions to the periodical press.* It was an age, also, of infidelity, in which English literature, from this cause, as well as others, "experienced a withering of its strength and a decay of its beauty."† The war with the American colonies and the dreadful convulsions in France, which soon followed, increased both the cause and the effect. But against all these obstacles, periodical literature, through the whole of the eighteenth century, was gradually advancing towards that maturity and strength which it has since attained.

Not the least among the causes which contributed to the inefficiency of the old English reviews, as critical journals, was their connection with the publishing booksellers. The majority of them, perhaps, were established with upright intentions, by writers who valued intellectual freedom. But, from causes too obvious to require explanation, they gradually yielded to the dominion of the trade, and became subservient to the selfish purposes of publishers, on whose patronage they were dependent for support. Periodical criticism, thus fettered and degraded, was destitute of that spirit and energy which are inseparable from integrity of purpose. Tameness, coldness and servility became its leading characteristics; and it was only now and then that a critique appeared, written with ability, and in a pleasing style, to enliven the mass of dulness with which it was surrounded, and to indicate the power over the popular mind, to which the critical art might and would be advanced in coming times and under better auspices.

The effects of trammelling criticism by reducing it to the level of a mercantile system are forcibly described in the following extract from an essay, in the *Edinburgh Annual Register* for 1809, attributed to Sir Walter Scott.

"A spirit of indolence is usually accompanied with a disposition to mercy; or rather those whom it has thoroughly possessed cannot give

* In the "*Weekly Memorials*," the first literary review published in England, we have the following judicious remarks, which show, at once, the care with which severer studies were commended, and the hesitation with which they ventured to encourage or invite the reading even of their own miscellany. "Since the invention of printing," says the reviewer of 1683, "the very multiplicity of books has proved prejudicial to students, by giving rise rather to confusion and distraction in their thoughts, than to the promoting of any clear and well digested knowledge;" and hence he cautions those who read many books against a *studium vagum*, and advises them "rather to make choice of and apply themselves to certain authors." See Ch. of Eng. Review, July, 1839.

† See American Biblical Repository, Oct. 1840, p. 348.

themselves the trouble of rousing to deeds of severity. Accordingly the calm, even and indifferent style of criticism, occasioned by the causes already stated, was distinguished by a lenient aspect towards its object.—The reviewer, in the habit of treating with complacency those works which belonged to his own publisher, was apt to use the same general style of civility towards others, although they had not the same powerful title to protection.—A certain deference was visibly paid to an author of celebrity, whether founded on his literary qualities, or on the adventitious distinctions of rank and title; and generally there was a marked and guarded *retenue* both in the strictures hazarded, and in the mode of expressing them. If raillery was ever attempted, there was no horseplay in it; and the only fault which could be objected to by the reader was, that the critic was ‘content to dwell in decencies for ever.’”

This rule was not, indeed, without exceptions. The mind of a liberal and public-spirited critic sometimes reversed the sentence of his employer; and unlike the prophet of Midian, anathematized the works on which he was summoned to bestow benedictions.—Neither was it proper that the critical rod should be hung up in mere show, lest, in time, as it is learnedly argued by the Duke of Vienna, it should become more mocked than feared. The terrors of the office were, therefore, in some measure maintained by the severity exercised upon the trumpery novels and still-born poetry which filled the monthly catalogue, whose unknown and perhaps starving authors, fared like the parish boys at a charity school, who are flogged not only for their own errors, but to vindicate the authority of the master, who cares not to use the same freedom with the children of the squire. Sometimes, also, “fate demanded a nobler head.” The work of a rival bookseller was to be crushed even in birth; a powerful literary patron, or, perhaps, the reviewer himself, had some private pique to indulge; and added a handful of slugs to the powder and paper which formed the usual contents of his blunderbuss.

Sometimes political discussions were introduced, before which deference and moderation are uniformly found to disappear. Or, in fine, the sage bibliopoliſt himſelf occaſionally opined that a little ſeverity might favor the ſale of his review; and was therefore pleaſed to “cry havoc, and let ſlip the dogs of war.”—But the operation of each and all of theſe cauſes was inſufficient to counteract the tendency of this ſpecies of criticism to ſtagnate in a courſe of dull, and flat, and lukewarm courteſy.—Something of the habitual civility and professional deference of the tradesman, ſeemed to qualify the labors of thoſe who wrote under his direction; and the critics themſelves, acceſſible not, we believe, to pecuniary interpoſition, but to applications for favors in divers modes, which they found it difficult to reſiſt, and mixing, too, in the intercourſe of private life, with many of thoſe who afforded the ſubjects of their criticism, were ſeldom diſpoſed to exerciſe their office in its full, or even its neceſſary rigor.—Theſe were days of halcyon quietneſs for authors; eſpecially for that numerous claſs who, contented to venture their whole literary credit on one dull work, written upon as dull a ſubject, look forward, leſs to rapid ſale, and popular

applause, than to a favorable criticism from the reviewers, and a word or two of snug, quiet, honied assent from a few private friends. The public indeed, began to murmur that

"Lost was the critic's sense, nor could be found,
While one dull, formal unison went round."

But the venerable and well-wigged authors of sermons and essays, and mawkish poems, and studied parish histories, bore each triumphantly his ponderous load into the mart of literature, expanded it upon the stall of his bookseller, sat brooding over it till evening closed, and then retired with the consolation, that if his wares had not met a purchaser, they had at least been declared saleable, and received the stamp of currency from the official inspectors of literary merchandise.—From these soothing dreams, authors, booksellers, and critics were soon to be roused by a rattling peal of thunder; and it now remains to be shown how a conspiracy of beardless boys innovated upon the memorable laws of the old republic of literature, scourged the booksellers out of her senate-house, overset the tottering thrones of the idols whom they had set up, awakened the hundred-necked snake of criticism, and curdled the whole ocean of milk and water, in which, like the serpentine supporter of Vistnou, he had wreathed and wallowed in unwieldy sloth for a quarter of a century. Then, too, amid this dire combustion, like true revolutionists, they erected themselves into a committee of public safety, whose decrees were written in blood, and executed without mercy."

Such are the views of the friends and admirers of the *Edinburgh Review* in respect to the occasion and importance of its establishment in 1802. A more particular account of this Review we reserve for a future article, in which it is proposed to give a sketch of the origin and the present character and influence of all the important literary periodicals in Great Britain, which have been commenced within the present century, or been continued from the preceding age. This may be expected in the next No. of the Eclectic.

ARTICLE III.

CHARTISM IN ENGLAND:—ITS CAUSES AND REMEDY.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

WE have selected the following article on account of its philosophical views of the existing state of society in England. There are multitudes of writers, both in our own and in foreign journals, who amuse us with beautiful landscapes, and descriptions of passing scenes in Great Britain and other countries, but leave us uninstructed as to the occult and constantly operating causes of the phenomena, which excite our wonder or interest our sympathies. As we look across the waters, the eye rests on the surface of things. A thousand questions which are suggested by the fearful agitations and convulsions of the old world, can only be answered by one who is intimately acquainted with the materials and the organizations of transatlantic society, and who has the candor and courage to rise above the influence of party prejudice, and tell us the whole truth, as it is and should be known to those most deeply concerned in its results. That this is perfectly done in the following article, we are by no means prepared to affirm. To our own minds, however, it is in no small degree satisfactory. It presents the fact and the causes of the unequal progress of civilization in the upper and lower classes in England, in a clearer light than any in which we have been accustomed to contemplate them.

The leading topic of the article is suggested by the author whose work is named at its commencement; and though we are no admirers of some of the principles of Mr. Carlyle, nor of his eccentric and affected style of writing, we do most readily award to his mode of thinking the claim of originality. He has a philosophical mind, a keen perception of existing abuses and evils in society, and a disposition by no means averse to their exposure. His suggestions, therefore, are worthy of grave consideration, and the reviewer has happily availed himself of them, in presenting a clear and lucid exhibition of the momentous concern of the British nation in the subject of his discussion. The running title of this article, in the *British and Foreign Review*, is *Chartism and Church Extension*. But to avoid the danger of producing an impression on the minds of American readers that the writer intends, by *Church Extension*, to inculcate the exclusive claims of the "Church of England," in opposition to those of the dissenters, we have dropped this part of the title, and adopted a more general expression of the object of the discussion. By *church* our reviewer does not mean any one denomination of Christians, but the great principle on which all evangelical churches are founded, and which they all, more or less, embody. It is the extension of this principle which he urges as the only effectual remedy for Chartism. As to the mode of extending it, different views are entertained in

this country from those which prevail among the friends of the establishment in England. But the principle itself is every where important. The remarks of the writer on education are also invaluable, and worthy to be pondered by statesmen and Christians. EDITOR.

From the British and Foreign Review, July, 1840.

RECENT events have given a fearful interest to the social condition of England. Thinking men for some time past have felt and expressed great anxiety concerning it; but they have been for the most part laughed at as alarmists. Lately, however, we came to a pass when even the most sanguine and careless could hardly feel at ease. Towns set fire to, civil war and slaughter in the streets, houses plundered, pikes and swords, were, a few months back, spreading terror over large districts, and making every one fear that the national prosperity, and even the safety of life and property, were seriously endangered by the spirit which manifested itself in such outrages. The habit of believing that things will right themselves of their own accord, if they are but left alone, is, we know, a very inveterate one, but it is hardly a match for such rude assaults as these. Not only was the anxiety general at the times of the riots, but during the few months which have elapsed since that time the feeling has been rapidly growing up, that the evil is deeply seated, and that to discover the remedy will be a task requiring much thought and care. The conviction is becoming universal, that England will not be able to guarantee that security of life and property, which is the first object of society, without bringing some wiser and more powerful institutions than she now possesses, to act upon the lower orders of her population. For the present, indeed, the immediate danger is gone by, violence has been repressed and punished, and the accustomed order of society restored. But the root of the evil has not been extirpated; and the present calm offers a very favorable opportunity for dispassionately considering the causes and the remedies of this evil.

On such a subject then, so all-important to every Englishman, it was with no common interest that we took up Mr. Carlyle's work on Chartism. We were eager to learn what the discerning eye, which had seen so clearly the state of things which issued in the French Revolution, had been able to perceive in the living world about it. We hoped to see much by the help of the keen insight which had distinguished the historian. We are not ashamed to profess ourselves warm admirers of Mr. Carlyle, or to think that his works are full of instruction and wisdom. Of that immediately before us, we believe it may be said with truth, that it has much precisely of the same merit which so strikingly characterizes many a dramatic picture in the history of the French Revolution. There is not much novelty of matter. Indeed, we do not know that we have found a single thing in it absolutely new. But the power of painting, the vividness with which each separate element is worked up into the general picture, the brilliancy of coloring, and the force with which the whole view is made to strike the imagination, are exactly such as we have been accustomed to admire in Mr. Carlyle's writings. We look upon this little book there-

fore, appearing at such a time as this, to be a very valuable one; not because it gives us views or information which we were absolutely without before, but because it combines the whole subject into a living form, and graphically as well as forcibly places it before our eyes. The first step towards a cure is a right perception of the symptoms of the disease,—and Mr. Carlyle's diagnostics we think very accurate.

Mr. Carlyle's book is on Chartism. But what is Chartism? What does it mean? Whence does it come? Whither will it go? To these questions all sorts of answers are every day given. Some cry out that it is all the fault of the Whigs, the natural offspring of their encouragement of political agitation. So say the Tories. If we listen to the Whigs we shall be persuaded to believe that Chartism is the fever produced in the lower orders by the new Poor Law, fomented and converted to their own political purposes, by the arts of the Tories. So speak the politicians; men to whom party is every thing, and the nation nothing; who cannot conceive of the great body of the people caring for any thing else, but who shall dwell in Downing Street. Unfortunately for both these theories, Chartism has spoken and acted very significantly under the sway of both these parties. It has most refractorily refused to disappear under the approved modes of treatment applied by each. In spite then of these political wise men we have still to ask the question: What is Chartism? Let us hear what Mr. Carlyle says thereon.

"Chartism means the bitter discontent grown fierce and mad, the wrong condition therefore, or the wrong disposition of the working classes of England. It is a new name for a thing which has had many names, which will yet have many. The matter of Chartism is weighty, deep-rooted, far-extending, did not begin yesterday, will by no means end to-day, or to-morrow. It is the struggle that divides the upper and lower classes in society over Europe, and more painfully and notably in England."

Again,

"Decay of loyalty in all senses, disobedience, decay of religious faith, has long been noticeable and lamentable in the largest class as in the smaller ones. Revolt, sullen, revengeful humor of revolt against the upper classes, decreasing respect for what their superiors teach, is more and more the universal spirit of the lower classes. Such spirit may be named, may be vindicated, but all men must recognise it as extant there—all may know that it is mournful; that unless altered it will be fatal:—of lower classes so related to upper, happy nations are not made."

It is most true, and of the greatest importance thoroughly to be convinced, that Chartism is no novel occurrence, no transitory feeling of a day. It may have borrowed a name from the Charter, but its essence was long in existence before the Charter was heard of. The five points of the Charter are mere superficial symptoms,—the objects which the burning fever for the moment thirsts for, but they are not the real substance of the dis-

ease. The true essence of Chartism is the disordered state of the lower and working classes, the unjust situation in which the course of modern civilization has placed them, and the bitter feelings of resentment which this injustice calls forth. It is most foolish and most dangerous to think of Chartism as any thing else than a disease deeply rooted in the foundations of our social state; and most fearfully threatening the peace, and even the existence of the present order of society. Loud and vehement protests of the lower classes against the evils of their condition, have been the precursors of these latter and more serious outbreaks. Occasional eruptions have told to those who would understand, of the fires that were raging below the surface. The earthquake came at last. The commotions that disturbed the peace of the country in past years, the violence of the Ludites in 1817, of the operatives in 1819, the field of Peterloo, and the irritated temper of the people which made it dangerous for the sovereign to walk through his own capital in 1830, were all so many indications that the causes of disaffection were at work. But never before was this spirit so general, the organization so powerful, the sympathy in the tone of feeling so universal, as it was a few months ago. The quelling of each successive disorder seemed but to make the fire within glow with more intensity. The manufacturing population were infinitely better agreed in the objects they were to aim at; assaults on property broke out simultaneously in many parts of the kingdom, and it has become plain, that if any favoring circumstances had furnished the opportunity, the men of Sheffield and Merthyr Tydvil, Glasgow and Birmingham would then have united, and would again unite in a single host against the other orders of society. Hence our danger is immensely greater, and our prospect of eradicating the evil by the exercise of mere force immensely less. And that we are not single in this opinion, but that it is one generally entertained, is proved by the very remarkable and appalling fact, that all the classes above the lowest order were so alarmed by the danger which so manifestly threatened all property, as to combine in a common and determined opposition to the Chartists. Lord Brougham pointed out the perfectly novel circumstance, that in the late trials of the Chartists, the lowest order of shopkeepers could, for the first time in the history of this country, be trusted on charges of sedition and rebellion. Many will draw comfort from this fact. They will rejoice in the accession of force which it promises to the cause of order: and doubtless this is a well-founded confidence, if resistance to the few next outbreaks be alone thought of. But this fact has other and far more sorrowful meanings. It speaks of the terrible character of the sentiments that animate the most numerous class of our population. It bears witness that they are supported by a union and force so formidable, as to cut off all sympathy between the workmen and those who have been hitherto their natural allies. It is small comfort to know that if the battle is to be fought now, we shall have a larger army to fight with. The fearful truth is, that there is now certainty of war; that the thousands of the working classes are the enemies of the state; that the creeds and common sentiments which bind up all orders into one nation have disappeared; and that the largest, the most ignorant and the

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most reckless class stand by the side of the rest in an attitude of avowed hostility.

But if this evil be thus great, what causes have produced it? and what are its remedies? The inquiry into the sources of mischief is twofold. They are either physical, or moral and religious. Mr. Carlyle's book enumerates some of the first class only; but he treats them in such way as to leave a very strong impression on his reader, that the latter class contains the most powerful, and the really true agents of the evil. There is perhaps no book which places so vividly before the eye the internal character of the malady. Now, though the public attention should above all be directed to our moral evils, still it is of great moment not to seem to palliate the positive miseries which our poor have to endure. Some we fear are inseparable from human nature, under every condition of its being; others proceed from causes seated in the constitution of our nature, which have been brought into activity by the growth of our civilization, but for which no specific remedy has been found. But there are others which are the infliction of bad laws, and these every good and patriotic man should do his utmost to remove. Mr. Carlyle speaks in the first place of wages:

"What constitutes the well-being of a man? Many things;—of which, the wages he gets, and the bread he buys with them, are but one preliminary item. Grant, however, that the wages were the whole—that, once knowing the wages and the price of bread, we know all—then, what are the wages? Statistic inquiry in its present misguided condition cannot tell. The average rate of a day's wages is not correctly ascertained for any portion of this country, not only not for half centuries, it is not even ascertained any where for decades of years; far from instituting comparisons with the past, the present itself is unknown to us. And then, given the average of wages, what is the constancy of employment? the fluctuations from season to season, from year to year? Is it constant, calculable wages, or fluctuating, incalculable, more or less of the nature of gambling? This secondary circumstance of quality in wages, is perhaps even more important than the primary one of quantity."

There are several very interesting questions suggested by these remarks. No doubt the testimony as to the rate of wages throughout the country is extremely conflicting; but it seems a fact pretty generally admitted that the Chartist are not composed of the poorest class of laborers in England, and that it is not any great lowness of wages, or difficulty in procuring their livelihood, which has led to their combinations. Three or four years ago the rate of wages in most of the manufacturing districts was so high, that the Poor-Law Commissioners used their utmost efforts to encourage emigration from the agricultural districts, to those where labor was so well remunerated. And yet we know that mischief had long been fermenting, and that the alienation of the operatives from their masters and the rest of society was decided. But the other point put forward by Mr. Carlyle is a capital one,—the quality of wages. The fluctuations of manufacturing wages have been enormous. This is an evil that has press-

ed far more severely on modern times than on former ones. The institution of guilds, by making admission to a trade tedious and expensive, kept the supply of labor better proportioned to the demand. The price of goods might vary considerably without throwing people out of employment. No doubt the commerce of England was then a very insignificant thing, when compared with the gigantic magnitude which it has reached in our days. But if it has brought us immense wealth and power, it has not escaped the lot which God has assigned to all human things. It has brought its evils also. A dense mass of human beings, subsisting on a pittance not much above the minimum of subsistence, and carrying on a trade which, from its vastness, and the countless and distant lands which it embraces, is exposed to a thousand interruptions,—is indeed a most serious evil. Hence, the distressing effects, which deficiencies of cotton crops, American Bank speculation, Eastern politics, and China wars, produce on so sensitive a population. Those who during last winter saw thousands of weavers, with scarcely bread enough to keep off starvation, and saved only by the timely arrival of orders from America from the sale of their small households and the workhouse, can fully understand that to be the workshop to the world, is not unmixed good to a nation. This is not the language of morbid complaint; but, all in matters of real life, it is salutary to see the dark side of the picture as well as the bright. Those fluctuations which flow directly from the essential character of our great trade, it would be both ungrateful and foolish to repine against. They require only to be faced with all our moral and intellectual resources. But there are others of our own making; and the poor have a just claim to their estimation. We will not speak here of our banking-system, though a sounder knowledge of finance might probably save us from some grievous distress. But reason and right feeling will bear out the assertion that the corn laws are the parents of great calamities to our working classes. The fluctuations which they produce in the price of food, is, above all, the disastrous evil which this wretched and narrow-sighted policy inflicts upon us. They deprive, indeed, the nation of a large trade, and so far diminish its national resources. But whether England be a few millions richer or poorer, is, after all, not the vital question. We heartily wish we could persuade the Anti-Corn-Law men of this fact. We feel the injustice of these laws as keenly as they do; but it is not the mere loss of so much gain that we mainly deplore. A country may be growing in wealth, and yet be very miserable. At least a great increase of widespread misery, and consequent danger, may be going on at the same time with the positive accumulation of riches.

This is a question which has been little considered by political economists. Our nobles and our merchants might be greatly enriched by an open trade in corn; but if our manufacturing population were only increased in number and density thereby, the active ferment of disaffection, and the spread and intensity of Chartism, might also be vastly stimulated. It is the soundness of all its parts, the proportionate prosperity of each class respectively, and not the mere increase of wealth alone, which makes a happy people. Now it is precisely in this respect that the corn laws are

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so injurious. The fluctuations which they create in the price of food, form most serious obstacles to the physical and moral welfare of the working classes. To none is steadiness in the price of the chief articles of food more all-important, both because their resources are the smallest, but much more because their habits are so greatly affected by it. A poor man should feel some well-founded confidence in the average cost of maintaining his family. His disposition to lay by his savings and, consequently, his contentment with his lot in life must greatly depend upon the degree of hope that he feels, that these savings will enable him to better his condition, or at least cheer it by an enlarged command of comforts. But altogether different will be his mood of mind, if the surplus of his earnings, saved perhaps at the cost of many a severe struggle against the tempting indulgence of the passing hour, is absorbed by ever-recurring seasons of high prices, and even then inadequate to keep off a heavy amount of misery. Such variations in the price of wheat, as we have seen within four years, from forty shillings to eighty shillings a quarter, must make life a gambling speculation for the poor, and must entail upon them the habits of the gambler. They will balance the distress and scanty food of dear years by reckless and criminal indulgence in cheap ones. The wealthier classes have means to fall back upon. Their gains are commonly steady, often progressively increasing. They can bear seasons of low profit and loss without making any material change in their habits. But the man who overflows and starves by turns, will have small inclination for thrift and economy. Besides, the working classes have to pay more dearly for their bread, at the very time when there is less demand for their labor. We are, indeed, told that dear bread brings high wages. This is one of those monstrous assertions which folly or knavery so often palm upon the ignorant. Every table of wages refutes it. Deficient harvests must lessen the power of the consumer to buy; and on the other hand, the workman is in a poor condition to bargain with his master for wages, when food is dear, and work scarcely to be had. The bad harvests which God sends us are bad enough to bear, but to aggravate their pressure, by narrowing the district from which our supplies are drawn, is both foolish and criminal.

But this is not all. There is a still greater harm which fluctuations in the price of food do to the poor and the nation. They not only discourage habits of economy, but they also tend to destroy the only safeguard against an undue increase of population. That the tendency of population is to exceed the supply of food, is a law now universally recognised; and it is also equally clear, that the only effectual remedy to this evil is to be found in those moral and prudential restraints which check and control the desire of marriage. It has been fully established, that those classes which have the most to lose by imprudent marriages are the slowest to contract them, whilst the poorest and most miserable nations, such as the Irish, are also the most populous. Every thing, therefore, that makes a man think he cannot be in a worse condition by marrying, must greatly indispose him to listen to the dictates of prudence. New variations in the price of food are extremely likely to produce this effect. They degrade a man's

own estimate of his condition by the wretchedness which they at times compel him to endure. They prevent him from forming a probable judgment of the permanence of a generally thriving state; they suggest the doubt, whether by delaying the present comforts of marriage he is not making sacrifices for a very precarious good; and if in the chances of human life—for chances they are to him—destitution may possibly fall to his lot, the workhouse can scarcely be worse, and in many respects will be far better, than what he has at times been obliged to endure.

And here we are brought to a very painful subject for reflection, to which Mr. Carlyle has devoted a whole chapter. The immigration of Irish laborers into the manufacturing districts, unless accompanied by some considerable improvement in the condition of the Irish peasant, threatens the physical state of the laboring classes of England with a deplorable revolution. Mr. Inglis assures us that one-half of the population of Ireland die prematurely by the operation of disease, bad food and bad lodging. In many districts 4*d.* a day is the common rate of wages. The proceeds of a day's labor will now get a man conveyed from Dublin to Liverpool. The consequences are obvious. The manufacturer is glad to buy Irish labor at a cheaper rate than he can get English, and "the finest peasant in the world" is delighted to exchange a land of scarcity for a land of plenty. Hence our towns swarm with Irish. Some 50,000 are settled in Manchester, nearly as many in Glasgow, and so in proportion for other large towns, whilst the capability of Ireland to keep up the supply is unlimited. But let us look to the effects of this system. The Irish are willing to work for less, and so are paid less, than the English. A man who is content to live on potatoes is more than a match for one who will have wheaten bread and bacon. In this way the market price of labor becomes permanently lowered. We may be told to look at our factories and our warehouses, at the millions of pounds of cotton which are annually worked up by our machines, at the lordly estates of our merchants, and even at the greatly increased cheapness of the most necessary articles of consumption which allows every class to become a sharer in the general good. Still we say emphatically, that all this, great as it is, is no compensation for the incalculable evil of an everlowering standard of food and wages for our workmen. We do not assert that wages have yet sunk to such a rate as can barely support life, but we do assert that the immigration of Irish labor has reduced the price of labor in the English market, and, if unchecked, will bring it down to the level of the other side of the channel. What then is to be done? Repeal of the Union is plainly impossible, and even were it carried, would be unavailing—for what custom-house could prohibit the ingress of Irishmen? We have here but one reason more, but that as powerful as any:—to raise the state of society in Ireland—to place tranquillity in that unfortunate country on a stable basis by wise and humane laws—to encourage to the utmost the development of its natural resources, and by thus giving value to its native labor, to bring up the Irishman to the same standard of food as the Englishman.

We have now discussed some of those outward causes which have been most loudly insisted upon as the producers of Chartism. We allow

them considerable weight, but numerous and grievous as are the evils which they inflict upon us—still, even taken together, they are inadequate to account for the mood of mind prevalent among the country classes. They do not answer the question: What is Chartism? and whence comes it? The five points of the Charter; the wonderful unanimity with which a million and a half of men have signed it; the perfect sympathy in disaffection and riotousness, through distant and most differently circumstanced districts of the empire; the savage ferocity against every right of property; the greedy eagerness with which quacks, fanatics and knaves are listened to; the threatening hostility of the lowest against all the classes above them, are not things to be explained solely by corn laws, septennial parliaments, high franchises, or the like. The real cause must be a deeper as well as a more general one. It is to be found in the peculiar and very unequal growth of our civilization. It is the pernicious principle of “letting alone,” acting under the most favorable circumstances for mischief. We have drawn together immense populations round certain centres, solely for the purposes of wealth, and we have cared for little else. We have bred up human beings for the value of their hands, and the mental skill to guide them; but we have thought little of the souls they had in them, and have made small provision for their moral and spiritual wants. If we could have reduced them to a level with the engines and horses in whose company they worked, it might have been well with us; or if we could have kept them as bondsmen, thinning their numbers as they become excessive, as the Spartans did the Helots, we might still have escaped the peculiar evils that press upon us. Nay, even if we could have had the simple belief which sometimes accompanies ignorance, we might still have been safe. But we could do none of these; we could not prevent our workmen from having minds; we could not, in this free country, check their increase by the black deeds of tyranny, which history records; nor could we shut out a degree of intelligence which is little else than dangerous when uncontrolled by moral or religious principle. Such is the charge which we bring against England, first against her rulers, but also against all and each who have not labored to free themselves from it. Let us look at our manufacturing population. How does it spring up? Of what elements is it composed? Its primitive element, the nucleus of the whole body, is in most cases a factory, and its bond of union, money—wages. A wealthy capitalist erects a mill in some town or village—trade is brisk—wages high—hundreds, nay, thousands, flock together from all corners of the land, unknown to each other, unlinked by any common feelings, affections, or intimacies, but loosely connected with their master, of whom they know nothing but his face, and the money that he issues through his foreman—no gentry, no professional men, and but few tradesmen living among them, and lastly, members of no church or religious society; such are the people that make up our large villages and large towns. The utter disproportion which the number and moral condition of the working classes bear to the higher and more cultivated ones, is the peculiar and dangerous characteristic of modern society in England. Large districts of Italy were, it is true, in

the latter days of Rome, inhabited by none but the laborers who tilled the soil ; but these were slaves, held of no account in moral and political respects, and reckoned pretty much in the same class with the brute beasts upon the farm. If the masters are strong enough, a society composed of a few masters and numerous slaves may enjoy entire security against internal disorder, but it is far otherwise with a nation whose lower orders are both free and numerous, and attached by no bonds of interest and affection to the upper. The evils which spring from this constitution of society in England are enormous. Large unbroken masses of men are crowded in our towns, little better than heathens in religion, exchanging no kindly or endearing sympathies with those who might guide and enlighten them, having but little affection for the state that neglects them, and keenly feeling the injustice with which they are treated. Such are the bitter fruits which come from the principle of "letting alone." Can we wonder that disaffection, hatred and rebellion should be fomented in such a mass ? Are we to be put off with the answer,—that such men get good wages, and are well fed ? So are our cattle and our horses. Does the soul go for nothing ? Are its social instincts, its moral affections nothing ? Can we look for love where there is nothing to be loved ? Among our ancestors, the journeyman was cheered with the hope of being one day enrolled in the guild, and enjoying the substantial privileges of a citizen ; but in our own times, what moral or social station is filled by our workmen which can inspire them with the feeling that they are sharers in the blessings, the privileges and the proportionate honors and duties of society ? They help, forsooth, to get money, and they receive money themselves. We are beside ourselves when we think of this reckless selfishness of "letting alone ;"—this guilty neglect of the highest and most sacred national duty of government. We forget that men cannot and will not be turned into mere mechanical tools ; and that the instincts of society are so deeply seated in man's nature that he cannot live otherwise than in society. We have provided no educational or religious training for our people. Five hundred thousand persons in London live unconnected with any church or minister, dissenting or established. Millions can neither read nor write, but these millions feel and think. We have sent few bearers of good tidings among them to awaken such a religious faith in their minds as shall teach them contentment in this life, and cheer them with the hopes of a better lot hereafter. They listen, instead, to the teaching of blasphemous and seditious newspapers, and the guidance of evil-minded men. They are not incorporated with the rest of their fellow-subjects, by an exchange of sympathies with the classes living among them. Their human hearts find vent in giving utterance, with unanimous voice and intense feeling, to their resentment against those whom they call their oppressors. Well may Mr. Carlyle point to the French Revolution. M. Guizot has said truly, that the French Revolution was the uprising of the French nation against worn-out upper classes, against those who by birth and position were its natural leaders, and had no government, no counsel to give. Thank God ! we fear nothing of the sort in England ; not because the cases are absolutely dissimilar, but because the hearts of the great body of the English nation are

still sound, and because there is every reason for believing that when the true state of the patient is known, many an able head and willing soul will be ready to relieve his sufferings. But ere this knowledge be brought home to people's minds, much pressure of want and misery, much sullenness of discontent, many a deed of violence and bloodshed must probably be endured. Would that men would calmly look at the evil before such dreadful dangers force it, in its worst form, upon their attention!

Chartism, then, is the natural result of the bad moral and social conditions under which our population has grown up, aggravated and more rapidly brought to a crisis, by the rapid development which our trade has undergone since the beginning of the century. Its remedy therefore must be a moral and a social one. M. Sismondi would revive the institution of guilds; they worked beneficially in their day, but are useless and impracticable for ours. They cannot co-exist with the steam-engine and the large establishments and large capitals which it requires. It is impossible to interfere with the free course of trade; nor would it be desirable even if it were possible to do so. Here "*laissez faire*" is the right principle, because all attempts to control trade only cramp the action of industry without impressing a more moral or social character upon it. Bounties, restrictions, prohibiting duties, are all bad economically, whilst politically they foster national jealousies, and furnish facilities for war, by preventing that mutual interdependence of all the great families of the human race, which is the best guarantee of prosperity and peace. We cannot and we must not impede commerce, but we can and we ought to make civilizing institutions keep pace with its growth. We have acted like a parent who has taken pains to strengthen the health and promote the bodily growth of his child, but has had no care for his mind. It is this sin of neglecting the minds of our people, which is now visiting us with its ruinous consequences. Our manufacturing districts have few churches or chapels, no schoolmasters, no gentry, no bodies of men of various habits, professions and ranks incorporated with them, no religious teachers, no organs for true national sympathy. Is this civilization? Or is civilization a word which should never be used but of the better orders? a thing with which working men have nothing to do? M. Guizot justly lays down as a test of the civilization which prevailed at any period: What its institutions have done, first for the personal and moral, and then for the mutual and social condition of man. Judged by this test, what sentence must be passed on our civilization?

But what is to be done? What are the particular and specific measures needed to counteract all this evil? There has been no lack of prescriptions. Let the government cease encouraging agitation,—say some; let there be no more flattering lies of plenty and prosperity, such as mocked the nation at the passing of the Reform Bill. Others are vehement for annual parliaments and universal suffrage. One consideration alone disposes of all these propositions. They do not attack the disease itself. At best they do but get rid of some of the symptoms. They cannot restore health, because they do not act upon the organs which are diseased. Universal suffrage would enable the poorer classes to injure and

ruin the upper, but would do nothing towards improving their own condition. They require to be guided and governed, not to have clubs put into their hands to beat down their friends and foes alike. They are dissatisfied with their condition, they know that they are intellectually and morally neglected; but how should they know what will make them happy? How should they distinguish really salutary measures from the selfish proposals of evil and designing men? It is obvious they must be enlightened by knowledge and mental cultivation before they can be safely intrusted with the task of giving laws to society; and hence the favorite topic with the genuine friends of the people has been of late—the necessity of education. And truly great this necessity is—the statistics of ignorance are most appalling. Let schools therefore be extended with all zeal, and to the utmost possible amount. It is a most righteous work, and in the right direction. Education, however, has been discussed on too narrow a basis. Education has been talked of as if it were something confined to the walls of a school, and could be given to children by the time they reach some twelve or fourteen years of age. How utterly inadequate would such a training be as an apprenticeship for the practice of any art! how infinitely less can it suffice for effecting one of the most arduous tasks in the world, the right development of the human soul! For what is education? It is the harmonious cultivation of all man's faculties, the proportionate and just development of all the elements of his moral and intellectual being; a formation of character, a calling forth of feeling, a creating of habits, resulting in a certain moral tone, moral harmony and moral character. Is this a business that belongs to childhood? is it not rather the process of a life? Will the reading of a few books, the learning of a few lessons, nay, will the promise shown by right sentiments, during half the period of boyhood, determine the character for life? Schools are excellent institutions as far as they go, but they are not the instruments by which health is to be restored to the sickly moral condition of the people of England. Supposing them to be as efficient as they possibly can be, they cannot get over the fatal difficulty, that the children of men who gain their living by their daily labor, must of necessity leave school at an early age. Where is the teacher of the least experience in education who does not know that the years immediately before and after twenty are by far the most influential in the formation of the character? How often do boys go on very promisingly till they are sixteen or seventeen, and then a fatal change obliterates the whole previous training! how much oftener still is not the reverse the case! But, in truth, is education a matter of books and lessons? Are there not more powerful agents than these that give a direction to its course? The tone of feeling which prevails in the circle where young minds are placed, the kind of sentiments which they hear expressed at every hour of the day by those to whose authority they look up, the example set them by their parents and their school-fellows, are all much more influential in giving a bias to the character than the precepts of teachers or the good advice of books. If the child hears the language of disaffection or moral depravity at home, the hours which he spends at school will avail little against it.

And even if they did some little to produce an opposite state of mind, that little would soon be lost when the child becomes a workman, and is merged in the great body of his class. These influences have not been sufficiently considered in what has been said about education, and it is precisely these influences which prevent us from being sanguine in our expectations of any great moral change to be effected by education. But it is said, reform the young, and the next generation will be wiser and better than their fathers. Yes, doubtless, they will, if the reforming process goes on more rapidly than the corrupting one. But what is to guarantee this result? The work effected by education can only be the result of *all* the forces that bear upon it, and others, besides books and teachers, must be brought into action before very much can be expected of education. Indeed, the social condition of the people of England is the educational principle of the greatest power; it is the influence beyond all others that will determine the character of future generations. Its sphere is the widest, and its mode of acting the most varied. Each of the several elements of that social condition produces its own effect. Thus the possession of property will make men orderly, and thoughtful, and prudent;—inadequate wages, with their consequent misery, will encourage reckless and careless habits. Inequality in the administration of the laws will set in motion the evil ferment of a sense of injustice; and it may very well happen that whilst some parts of man's nature may be cultivated, the rest may be neglected, or rather be educated by latent but most real teaching. Men may be taught to read and write, and may even make such intellectual progress as to attend, with understanding and profit, scientific lectures at Mechanics' Institutes, and yet their moral nature may have become depraved, and the increase of knowledge may only serve to propagate with greater force of thought and organization, doctrines subversive of individual and social happiness; and on the other hand, judging from the highest point of view, a genial and sound education may be in operation, where science and intellectual light have shed but few rays. The peasants of Norway may be prejudiced and ignorant, and their modes of agriculture rude and wasteful; but if they are warmly attached to their country and superiors, if they render a sincere and ready obedience to a simple religious creed, if their interest in their state of society is so secured by the possession of property, however small, that they feel themselves identified with the prosperity and adversity of their country, have they not a really better and nobler education than many of the intelligent and skilful, but repining and irreligious, workmen of England? Ignorance is nothing but a pure evil;—it never is the parent of innocence, though often accompanied by comparative innocence. It has earned undeserved credit, because people have not aimed at a comprehensive and harmonious cultivation of man. The good also which may have been gained has been too often judged of by partial progress in particular branches. Poor men no more than gentlemen should be thought educated because they can read and write, nor because they can read lectures in mechanics, geology or botany. *All* man's powers must be taken into account, and all other educational forces besides schools and teachers. Education must act on

all simultaneously, and must give a right direction to all, and its merits must then be estimated by the value, the religious, moral, intellectual and social value of the whole man.

We are amongst those who feel an intensely strong desire that an extended system of national education should be set on foot in this country, and an earnest hope that the unjust and selfish outcry made against every proposed plan by those who, when they had the power, made not the least effort to counteract the growing ignorance of the people, may be speedily put down by the determinate feeling of the country. But schools are only secondary means for our object, and so we shall not dwell at length upon them here. One remark only about music. We think the low estimation in which it is held in this country very unfortunate. If the intellectual greatness of painting is so universally recognised, why should music be so little regarded? If the eye can be the vehicle for admitting what is noble and purifying, is the ear utterly incapable of conveying valuable impressions to the mind? Surely if the greatness of the five arts consists in their power of cultivating and setting in action our moral and intellectual nature through the senses, why should this power be thought the exclusive privilege of the eye? Music may be made an excellent foundation for the general study of art amongst a people, and if it has never obtained the intellectual eminence which sculpture and painting have reached, yet it has the advantage of being more universally pleasing. It has charms which the least refined can feel and appreciate, whilst it opens a field of delightful and progressive improvement to those who can enter more deeply into its meaning. The two most intellectual nations that the world has seen, the Greeks and the Germans, have agreed in ascribing a high intellectual value to music. Shall we allow our prejudices and our ignorance to prevent us from trying the effect of that, which, if successful, would be a very easy and a very ready help to our civilization? However, if little value is set on music as an element of education, few will deny its usefulness as a source of amusement. And this is a point of no small importance. The amusements of a people are an essential part of their well-being. Mirth and innocent recreation are at all times excellent antidotes to brooding discontent; how infinite then their value in restoring life and freshness to the care-worn minds of the busiest nation in the world! They have never met with the thought and consideration which they so eminently merit in our day. A great change, in respect to the number and kind of popular amusements, has come upon the nation in modern times. The variety of the seasons, and the gladness that naturally accompanies the period of harvest have ever provided an agricultural people with holydays and festivals; and if at times the laborers are called upon for unusual labor, nature diminishes their tasks at others, and leaves them in the possession of increased leisure. The Roman Catholic religion also came to the help of the poor;—it rescued many days and hours from the encroachments of the spirit of gain. But now every man is eager to be as rich as he can, and it has been discovered that the same sum must be paid the laborer for his support, whether he has holydays or none. Neither religion nor custom could protect the needy;—

most of the old games have gone out of use, and our poor spend the whole of their weary days and years almost, without intermission, in the mills. The Socialists, with instinctive sagacity, have seen how strong is the want of amusement;—and music and dancing are far from being the least of their attractions for the people. It is most ardently to be hoped that the increasing thought which is directed to the condition of the poorer classes, will take up in earnest the whole subject of their amusements.

We are now come to the last and most important part of our task. Is there any adequate remedy for the evils of our social condition? Is there a remedy, adapted to the wants created by the peculiar condition of our civilization, capable of so adjusting the relations which the lower classes should bear to each other and to the rest, as to cement us into a united, peaceful and powerful people? We think that there is such a remedy, and that that remedy is *church*. All our reflections have tended to convince us, that in the idea of church the principle of our cure is to be found. Either our cure will come from this source, or there will be no effective cure at all. By church we do not mean the Church of England, nor the Dissenters, nor any one sect in particular; but the great principle on which they are all founded, and which they all, in a greater or less degree, embody. The idea of church is one of the most valuable gifts which Christianity bestowed upon the world, one of the mightiest and most blessed powers which Christianity was the first to call into being. A thorough realization of this idea in practice would go far to regenerate us into a healthy state, as far at least as it is possible to alleviate the evils and sufferings incident to human nature. For, in the first place, church acts on the strongest motives which the heart of man feels. Religious feeling exists in every human soul, and exercises an authority and a power which belong to none other. It speaks from the judgment-seat of the conscience, and has for its sanctions the present and eternal interests of men. Its force is felt in the rudest and in the most cultivated mind; it claims the obedience of all, from the highest to the lowest. Whatever, therefore, is supported by a strong religious feeling, will wield a power at once universal and paramount to all other motives. But in the next place, and this is a consideration of great weight for our present purpose, church is by its nature and institution an eminently social principle. It rests on feelings, and sympathies, and wants, that are common to all Christians. It is a society of men afflicted by the same sorrows, opposed by the same enemies, governed by the same Head, living under the influence of the same ideas and the same principles, and, amidst the trials and sufferings of this life, finding the greatest consolation in the thought that they will hereafter enjoy a pure and unbroken communion with each other and their common Lord. Surely if the idea of a sympathetic, loving, brotherly-minded union ever dawned on the minds of men, it appeared in the glorious idea of the Christian church. And let not the hope of this heavenly feeling being ever found able to animate men's hearts, be treated as foolish and fanatical. Those who have felt its blessedness will have been taught by its own power to think otherwise of it; and to the rest we may say, that what has been once may be again,—“The living in one

accord,—the having all things in common,—the breaking of bread from house to house,—the eating their meat with gladness and singleness of heart,” are all matters of historical certainty. That for a long series of ages the Christian church has soothed many a sorrow, has visited the poor and the afflicted, has shed the blessings of kindness and civilization on many an obscure and lonely spot, are equally well known facts. And in our day too, the active benevolence which this Christian sympathy has called forth in many a private person, and the works of charity and love which it is constantly producing, furnish some of the brightest contemplations which a true friend of humanity can enjoy. And if this feeling is so vigorously alive in individuals, why should it not exercise its beneficial power in its still more legitimate province—the common body of believers. It does exist as a fact, and its natural warmth and lustre are, in principle, as unchanged as ever. Why should it not be capable of organization? And be it further observed, church communion is not confined to some isolated object of pursuit, or some unimportant point, respecting which men may feel very varied degrees of interest, but it extends over the whole of life. Its influence reaches alike every branch of man’s outward and inward life,—his occupations, his amusements and his inmost thoughts. In a word, it concerns him as man. And precisely because it has for its object all truly human interests, it is universal in character, and may be, and is exchanged with persons of every degree. And thus we arrive at the third great element in the idea of church, its all penetrating, its diffusive character. Being a communion between man and man, church can exist wherever men live together. It requires, in the first instance only, the presence of sympathetic hearts in order to produce its fruits. It is essentially a mutual and self-acting principle; but if embodied in a well-constructed organization, it is capable of the widest expansion. It not only can employ the services of a body of men, whose especial profession it is to promote its action, and discharge the duties it prescribes, but can command the co-operation of every other member of society, whatever may be his calling in life. In the actual condition of England this is by far the most important element in the idea of church. Were it in active operation amongst us, we should not only see an infinitely increased host of regular clergy, pastors and teachers of every description; but also the general feeling of the relation in which people stood to one another as members of the church, would express itself in an enlarged intercourse, both of action and sympathy. Of this there are now but few traces to be seen. There is no more melancholy proof of the weakness of the idea of church amongst us, than the utterly inadequate expression of it in our general and local institutions. However, our purpose in this place is to show, that church, if rightly conceived and as rightly expounded in practice, is capable of furnishing us with a machinery of the very widest range, such a machinery as might act on every village, and might number amongst its laborers the highest and the lowest; in a word, every Christian citizen in the land. It would give every man acquaintances that would live with him in the exchange of endless acts of kindness; it would prevent him from feeling alone in the world; and by showing him

the value which he bears to others, would teach him to respect himself. And thus it would lead, merely by the force of social motives, to improved habits, to a steady desire not to forfeit the approbation of those whose esteem he will have learnt to value; and thus church would cement and bind together the nation, by strong feelings in each class towards the rest, and in all towards their common parent the State. Such is the conception we have of the idea of church, and such the services that we think it capable of rendering in the present conditions of the people of England.

The question then immediately arises, how far this idea has been realized in the constitution of this country. With sorrow and shame we confess that the prospect here is so melancholy, that we know not whether to grieve more as members of the State or as Christians. As a bond of social union church is nearly powerless. Perhaps it never was so weak at any former period of our history. The country is torn asunder with sects, and sects, it should be observed, that hang together rather by agreement in speculative doctrine than by real Christian fellowship. We have no national church. We have an established church, but not a national one; a large proportion of the population have withdrawn from communion with her, and endless are the schisms, jealousies and rival animosities that divide those who nominally profess her faith. And hence the religious wants of Englishmen are neglected to a degree, which is a dishonor to our Christian name. Tens of thousands are living in England in what it is no exaggeration to call pure heathenism. We speak on the authority of persons well acquainted with the actual condition of our large towns, when we state that enormous masses of our countrymen have not only no spiritual teachers, or no places of worship, but positively know nothing of the faith which they nominally profess: in fact, they have a far less positive belief than the generality of Mohammedans. We will not dwell here on the fearful guilt which, as Christians, we have hereby incurred; but we ask: Can a people thus unconnected by any of the creeds and positive sentiments which bind men together in society, be other than a storehouse of crime, impiety and rebellion? Is this society? Has the mechanical genius of our age shamed all the generations of the past by inventing an art of society, which shall have the benefit of all man's animal and mechanical powers, without troubling itself about his moral nature? Is not such heathenism, and worse than heathenism (for civilized nations of old would have repudiated such a disgrace), a reproach that covers England with the deepest shame? This dreadful guilt concerns all. No party can excuse themselves. If the Established Church has failed to discharge her duties towards the fast increasing population, the dissenters have only had thereby a freer field for their operations. Five hundred thousand persons cannot have been accumulated in London for whom there is neither church nor chapel, without fastening the blame on dissenters also, of not having felt the emergencies of the day, or the duty which devolved upon them as Englishmen. But whilst the dissenters are in fault, the Establishment is far more culpable. It is in the enjoyment of immense wealth, bestowed upon it for the express purpose of teaching the people. It comprises an overwhelming preponderance of the wealth, rank and influence of the

nation. But it wants zeal; its members, both lay and clerical, have felt little for church union. This principle has had little force. Hence no vigorous and united efforts have been made to provide for the growing wants of the people. Indeed, the Church of England has been always impeded by serious obstacles against becoming a truly national church. She has inherited from the Church of Rome the fatal distinction between clergy and laity; church and clergy have become synonymous terms. This mischievous notion has been the fruitful parent of endless evils. The idea of church, and the sense of the duties which it involves, have become faint and almost evanescent in the minds of laymen. By her constitution, and the fixed character of the revenues assigned for her maintenance, she has been rendered independent of the laity. She has been and is still looked upon as a distinct profession, quite as much as the army, the navy and the law. The laity have forgotten that they are as much churchmen as the clergy, and have left the management of church affairs exclusively to the latter; and from this fatal mistake have proceeded isolation, estrangement and hostility. The laity have held it to be the duty of the clergy to provide for the church-wants of the people, whilst the clergy have considered their business to consist in reading prayers, preaching sermons, and occasional visitings. And even now, when visiting has become more common amongst the parochial clergy, it is almost exclusively confined to the poor. It has not for its primary object the development of church communion between all members of the church with each other. Doubtless, to visit the fatherless and widow is a very blessed function, and has ever given vitality to the office of a clergyman. But it is only a single department of church duties; and by being unfortunately confined almost exclusively to the clergy, it has not been felt to be one which belonged to every member of the church. Nowhere do the united body of the church, lay and clerical, meet, deliberate and act in their corporate capacity. The clergy have had their convocations, but they have no more represented the church, than a body of military officers would represent the nation.

Yet there is, we rejoice to say, one exception to this statement. In one body the idea of church, in all its comprehensiveness, still virtually but unconsciously dwells; the high court of parliament represents all the interests, ecclesiastical and temporal, of society. By the constitution of England, parliament not only regulates the temporal interests of the nation, but, by settling the religious creed, prescribing the ceremonial, and determining the appointments of the establishment, sets forth the great truth, that church relations belong to every man, in his character of citizen, and must finally be controlled by that body which typifies the collective privileges, and wields the collective force of the whole people. But the circumstances attending the Reformation prevented the parliament from giving full effect to this idea. The prejudices of men, sanctioned by the practice of a long course of ages, compelled the adoption of the already existing machinery. Now, independently of the fundamental error of the distinction between laity and clergy, and looking at it merely in reference to its own principle, it is obvious that the establishment is strangely des-

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tute of an organization capable of accommodating itself to the varying wants which the altered condition of the people is ever producing. Its formularies, its mode of government, its parochial arrangements, with a few slight modifications, are exactly the same as they were 300 years ago. Let us think for a moment what the civil constitution of England was at that time, and what it is now, and then ask, whether a people so altered can find in the same unchanged ecclesiastical institution an adequate instrument for spiritual government. What means has the church for the effective education of the hundreds of thousands of souls that have sprung up in single parishes? When did it possess a body that could discern the ever-increasing demands for help, and that possessed the power, the public influence and the pecuniary means to satisfy them? A few isolated churches, after infinite trouble and opposition, have been raised, as if to remind the public that there was a God to be worshipped. And the reason of all this is plain. The establishment, from the beginning, has been a stiff and unbending body. It has given to the laity no place in its management, and they, on their side, have felt no interest in increasing the strength of an institution with which they were so slightly connected. The establishment has retained every old abuse, has made no sacrifice of its ill-distributed wealth, no suppression of its pluralities, no modification of its lordly pretensions, no devotion of all its resources to the service of its flocks. If any poor and zealous pastor, after exhausting all his powers, is overwhelmed by the thousands that crowd his parish, neither the establishment, whose officer he is, nor his nearest clerical neighbors are at hand with assistance. A rich rector in Yorkshire feels it to be no more his concern to make every sacrifice for the instruction of the heathen masses in Lancashire, than any layman in England. Unquestionably the vast increase of the population has been utterly beyond the means of the establishment effectually to provide for; but it has left the people out of its concern, and how can it expect that they will be found to open their purses at its call? By its professional isolation, by its jealous refusal to act with and through the laity, by its want of conciliating concessions to dissenters, by its arrogant pretensions to exclusive command, and its scornful contempt of the notion that it was but the minister and servant of the nation, the Established Church has chilled and all but destroyed the idea of church union, an idea which is the only fountain from whence she could derive the necessary supplies for what the state of the country imperiously required. And thus nothing has been done, and the neglected population has become more and more incapable of seeing that its cure is to be found only in the revival of efficient church institutions. We should be truly grieved if what we have been saying should be thought to proceed from hostility to the Established Church. We are sincerely and affectionately attached to it. It is the dispenser, however imperfect, of the greatest good that can befall man on earth; the piety, and zeal too, of its ministers is increasing. We reverence its venerable and beautiful services. But it needs to be made much more effective. We wish to see its principles thoroughly carried out: we see how unequal it is under its present constitution to the great work required of it, a work, however, which nothing else can per-

form. We earnestly wish it to be, what it may be made, the noblest, greatest and mightiest institution on earth.

What then must be done to enable the church to fulfil its mission? How is the church to be made the great instrument of civilization? It is obvious, from what we have said above, that the great thing is to make the laity feel themselves as much members of the church as the clergy. The idea of church must be brought home to the consciousness of every man, and through it, active and sympathetic church communion be established between every part of the people. We want institutions which shall not only penetrate into every corner of the land, but shall also act, in minute detail, on every family and every person. For this an immensely enlarged machinery must be set in motion. Such a machinery, it is plain, can only be obtained from the laity, from their active co-operation, and their ready contribution of the necessary funds. The establishment must be rendered, not a professional, but, in the widest sense, a national body. This can be effected in no other way than by giving the laity a large and influential share in the government and discipline of the church. Till this is brought about, it will be in vain to look for ready contributions, genuine zeal and vigorous co-operation from the nation; and without these church communion is impossible, and our working classes must remain isolated and uneducated heathens. In the joint action of every individual Christian lies the strength of the voluntary principle. By this combined power it has displayed so wonderful an activity in America, that the church is built there even before the village. It is the absence of this force in the establishment which is sending every day so many converts to the voluntary principle. It is a matter of serious regret, that the voluntary principle should be quietly allowed to retain sole possession of an advantage, which in no way peculiarly belongs to it, and that England should hence be threatened with so serious an evil as its triumph. But for this advantage, which it owes not to its own peculiar nature, but to the fault and neglect of churchmen, both lay and clerical, the voluntary principle would never have made such formidable progress. Its success must teach us our defects. Let the establishment but be made the common concern of all, and its intrinsic superiority will soon make it master of the field. Let properly constituted means of association be provided for every village, and every sub-division of our towns; let them be endowed with large powers, and incorporated in a system adapted to the political constitution of the country, and be made vital by the admixture in its administration of all the forces of society, and then there need be no fear for the result. We should see no large bishops theoretically despotic, and yet virtually incapable of acting,—no powerful corporation without organs for exercising the most necessary functions of life, and without the power of adapting itself to circumstances,—no uncontrolled exercise of patronage, and irresponsible rectors destroying the people's affection for the church; we should no longer be without churches, without schools, without a host of graduated officers and teachers diffusing comfort and instruction to every portion of the nation. And thus at last we might hope to witness, if not the perfect realization, yet at least an approximation to that great

perception of the relation between Church and State, by which, in the language of Hooker, "one society is both the Church and Commonwealth."

But is not this such a change in church government as amounts almost to revolution? And if the establishment is so strong that it can prevent the passing of any measure for so plain and urgent a duty as national education, and is also the strongest and most effective weapon with which the Tory party do battle, where is the use of proposing schemes that are plainly impracticable, and that rest on theories which sensible men will call visionary? We answer, there is great use. If it is true that the church can alone remedy the evils of our condition, then it is of the highest importance to know this. We may never be able to reach the *end* that lies before us; but by knowing what and where it is, all our steps will be taken in the right direction. And then, in the next place, people's minds are anxious and looking about for help. Their eyes are beginning to open. Old prejudices in a country like England must ever be strong; but riot, burning and slaughter are still stronger. The positive violence of the working classes, and still more the doctrines that are taking hold of their minds are making thoughtful men perceive that the old system must have some radical defects, and that something decisive and comprehensive must be done. The signs of the times speak in a voice that will be heard. At a period like this, is the truth to be withheld because it may for awhile be ridiculed as wild and impracticable? Truth will convince men's minds at last, and history shows, over and over again, that what has been laughed at one day has become a mighty and energetic power the next—the creed and truth by which after generations have lived and worked. And we will not do the good sense of the people of England the injustice to suppose, that if they are once convinced that a true remedy is to be had, they will allow practical difficulties and prejudices to render its application finally impossible. But without going to such an extent of change, there are many valuable measures which the greatness of the emergency may have force enough to pass. The present system of making the number of clergymen dependent on churches is slow, difficult and expensive. Fifty new churches are talked of for London. They cannot be raised without a sacrifice of much time and money; and when built, what are they, or rather the fifty clergymen connected with them, for the wants of London? The church is not a company for stone and mortar buildings, but a society of living men. When men are destitute of spiritual instruction, there is at once a church for teachers to work in,—there is a vineyard which cries out for a laborer. If a room large enough to hold a congregation can be found, prayers and preaching can go on in it as well as in a church-building; and if a district or street is so poor as not to contain such a room, the greater is the urgency that the pastors should fulfil their mission from house to house. And here the question will probably be asked: "Where are the funds to come from to support such pastors?" In the first place, we answer, clergymen can be obtained more cheaply than clergy and churches. In the next, to say nothing of the claims which a heathen population has to every possible sacrifice on the part of an establishment

which is in the receipt of five or six millions a year, there is evidently a very ready disposition in the lay-members of the Established Church to contribute large funds to promote its efficiency. In truth, the great difficulty is the forming of a regular and comprehensive system to act on. District visiting societies have been set on foot, but they can never be effectual until they originate from an authoritative body, and instead of depending for admission into a parish on the will or caprice of its rector, shall have been closely incorporated with the parochial clergy, and have become a regular and universal organ of church action. There can be no doubt, that if the civil and ecclesiastical authorities were once in earnest about the construction of such a plan, neither funds nor even disinterested zeal would be wanting to carry it into execution. Nor would it be very difficult to make an arrangement by which every rector should obtain a certain number of regular assistants. The want of will is the great impediment to overcome, or rather the want of an existing machinery for making safe and necessary changes in the establishment. But there are still larger resources which the church, if it pleases, can command. There are numbers of laymen of every degree whose religious feelings would delight in ministering to the spiritual necessities of their brethren. A system of reading and visiting could easily be established, only it must be carefully observed that the vitality of the whole will turn on its being a regular, positive and universal institution,—on each parish being provided with such a staff of spiritual officers, varying only in number, and really and truly responsible to a vigorous church government. We shall be told of the expense; but will the zeal and contributions, which pious benevolence now so liberally bestows on disjointed and crude measures, be diminished by their being engrafted on a system which shall make them efficient, and shall enable the church to accomplish the ends for which it was instituted? And do riots and burnings cost nothing? Are the hundreds of thousands of pounds, which are the annual spoil of thieves in Liverpool alone, an insignificant item? Are schools and teachers dearer than soldiers and policemen? But, in truth, liberal aid will not be wanting, provided the nation has a sufficient guarantee that it will not go to strengthen an exclusive class. And let the establishment be assured, that timely concessions to the laity, far from diminishing the weight and authority of the clergy, will obtain for them and the church, honor, respect and affection from the whole people. Lastly, the time is come to lessen, if possible, the prodigious evil of dissent. On several occasions, lately, signs of approximation towards the establishment seemed to show themselves among the dissenters, particularly among the largest organized body of them, the Wesleyans. But the establishment has not made the slightest advance towards conciliation, and it is to be feared that it will persevere in refusing to treat of terms of reconciliation, until a severe pressure from without makes it impossible to stand still. Such a pressure has already begun to act in the state of the nation, and the thoughts which it is calling up in the public mind. The establishment should be wise in time. The question may be opened now, and many of the dissenters brought back into communion with the establishment on far more favorable terms than

will probably be exacted hereafter. Let the Established Church but show herself thoroughly in earnest to regain her straying children, let her display a genuine spirit of kindness and fair dealing, let it be seen that she is ready to hear, and willing to grant what, upon discussion, shall be shown to be reasonable claims on the part of the dissenters, and thousands will return within her pale. Only here we meet again the same ever-recurring difficulty—the want of a deliberative and legislative body for the church. The clergy, from their position and class prejudices, will never be equal to dealing with such a question. It must be intrusted to an ecclesiastical commission. To appoint such a commission would be useless, until the establishment be ready to support it zealously and sincerely. But if the Established Church, under a deep sense of its responsibility to the nation, should honestly set herself to the task of carrying through such reforms in her constitution as shall adapt her thoroughly to the present condition of England, she would confer a blessing on the country which no other body or institution can bestow, and would dispense those services to the working classes, which they are entitled, in the name of religion and civilization, to claim from society in England.

ARTICLE IV.

SWEDISH LITERATURE:—OLOF RUDBECK THE ELDER AND HIS ATLANTICA.

The substance of a Notice of Rudbeck and his great work, in the Skandinaviske Literaturselskabs Skrifter for 1813, by Professor R. Nyerup: Translated from the original, with some slight alterations and more copious extracts from the author reviewed:

By George P. Marsh, Esq., Burlington, Vt.

RUDBECK'S ATLANTICA is one of the most celebrated works, that ever issued from the Scandinavian press.* Its scope embraces all the Grecian, Roman, and Scandinavian mythi, and it aims at nothing less than to show, that Sweden is the Atlantis of Plato, and comprehends the Thule, Scythia, Basilia, Balthia, Gothia, Gallia, Svevia, and Ogygia of the ancients;

* Dibdin says of this work, that it "is doubtless among the GREATEST GEMS of a well chosen collection;" and, for a particular and faithful account of it, refers to Brunet, who derived his materials from a work called *Voyage de deux Français au Nord de l'Europe*, by Fortia de Piles, 1790. The main features of the work are only briefly alluded to by Dibdin. They are presented by Mr. Marsh, much more perfectly, in the present article, which, by most English, as well as American readers, will be hailed as a most interesting contribution to the *Curiosities of Literature*. As will be seen, a perfect copy of the *Atlantica* is rarely to

that the Trojans, as well as all the gods and heroes of the Greeks and Romans derived their origin from Sweden; that the pillars of Hercules towered over the sound; that *Acheron* is the malström, and derives its name from the Swedish *agronde* (*afgrund*, an abyss); that *parapamisus* is the same as *bare ice*; that *hyperborei* may be deduced from the Swedish *yfverboren* (high-born); that *Rhadamanthus* is the Swedish *radaman* (*rådman*, counsellor); that *Proserpina* is properly *Frossepina* (frost-pained, or if derived from *frö* and *pina*, seed-destroyer), and that the Greek alphabet is borrowed from the Runic characters, whose antiquity ascends to the fourth century after the deluge. This singular argument is very thoroughly wrought out, but the whole superstructure rests on the airiest foundation. Every proposition is overlaid with testimonies and citations in abundance, but the citations are almost uniformly distorted and garbled in a most extraordinary manner. Every result seems to be deduced, by a regular series of conclusions, from premised data, while the premises are nothing but indistinct and unsupported hypotheses tending to maintain the antiquity and glory of Sweden. In short a luxuriant fancy, boundless learning, a spirit of profound research, and a burning patriotism united themselves in Rudbeck to the production of a work of the greatest literary interest, and the learned world rang with his name, as in our own times it does with that of his compatriot Linnæus. The *Atlantica* was indeed intrinsically of a character to win for its author a renown, which should dim the fame of all the antiquaries of his time; but there are other points of view in which this remarkable man may be regarded, points too, in which he must appear to the enlightened observer an object of not less interest, than when considered as the originator of the learned and extravagant ideas which characterize the *Atlantica*.

The origin of Rudbeck's family is involved in no little obscurity. That it is not of ancient Danish noble blood has been maintained by Gram, and it does not occur in the *Adelslexicon* of the Heraldic Society. Swedish genealogists derive the family from the knight, Peter Oxe of Rudbecke, a cotemporary of Eric of Pomerania; but both Esberg and Berch are guilty of the anachronism of confounding this Peter Oxe, who lived in the fourteenth century, with the royal high steward Peter Oxe, who flourished in the sixteenth, and Berch adds, that "Master Peter Rudbeck was the first who taught the people of the north how to dress a right good stew of Frogges! and hereto he citeth the *Tractatus de Ranis*, or Trac-

be found, and the prices at which it has been purchased, show how highly it is valued by the bibliomaniacs of Europe. The copy in the Valliere library in France cost 1351 francs; and one was purchased at the sale of Meerman's library in England for £26, 5s. A copy owned by Mr. Townley, was sold in England a few years since for 80 guineas, and "I cannot suppose," says Dibdin, "such a copy to be now fallen in price." Mr. Marsh will be entitled to the thanks of American scholars for procuring and laying before the public the contents of so rare and expensive a work. See Dibdin's *Library Companion*, p. 366.

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tate concerning Frogges, of the learned Jacobæus;" but alas for human fallibility! on verifying this citation, we find in Jacobæus not a syllable touching fricasseed frog, but simply an old tradition, that Peter Oxe introduced a species of frogs, known by his name, (Qu. *bull-frogs*?) into Sweden.

Rudbeck's father was bishop of Westerås, where our hero was born about midsummer in the year 1630, and as Gustavus II. Adolphus happened then to be in the city, and lodged in the bishop's house, he had the condescension to hold the infant at the font. In his youth, he attended the gymnasium in his native place, and made good progress in the humanities, but showed at the same time early evidence that nature had bestowed upon him a mechanical genius and a talent for the formative arts. He was not yet sixteen, when he constructed an ingenious wooden clock. He applied himself to the cultivation of music, playing both the flute and various stringed instruments, but excelling especially in singing. His voice was of unparalleled compass and flexibility; he could ascend from the lowest to the highest pitch, and pass, *per saltum*, from octave to octave, in a manner that enchanted his hearers. His musical talents were so highly appreciated by the court, in his riper years, that they preferred his singing to the most skilfully executed concerts. In 1651, he had—as he relates in his *Atlantica*, Vol. I. p. 696—"the honour to present a Shepherd with his Shalm," at Upsal, when queen Christina, with prince Carl Gustaf and the court, celebrated Christmas there; and while residing at Leyden in 1653, he once gave utterance to his stentorian voice in St. Peter's church, with such a volume of sound, that the audience was amazed, and at the dismissal of the congregation, gathered around him to view the miraculous singer. When the two queens and the young prince Charles visited the university at Upsal, in 1689, Acrel relates that Rudbeck, who stood behind the young queen's chair at table, "clapped his Fist to his Mouth, after the Guise of a Horn, and blew a Swedish Salute at every Toast," so that, in the words of the narrative, "the Hall rang with his Blasts, as if they had let off Fieldpieces." In his riper years, he was engaged in setting the new Swedish psalm-book to music, and at the age of sixty-six, he exerted the powers of his manly voice in the court chapel at Stockholm, by desire of the King and royal family.

But we are anticipating our narrative. Let us return to young Rudbeck, still a gymnast at Westerås. When his elder brothers were prepared for the university, his parents designed to send Olof also, and for that purpose equipped him with new clothing, and he received a respectable holiday suit, such as became a student of good family. But our young gymnast was unluckily mightily puffed up with his gay raiment, and waxed proud and disdainful, because he had got a fine cloth coat, with fair buttons, instead of a wadmél jacket with hooks and eyes. The good old bishop was sorely grieved at this, rebuked his son for his ungodly pride, and to teach him beseeming humility, stripped him of his peacock's garb, and condemned him to sit another year on the forms of the gymnasium. Carl Reinhold Berch, counsellor of the chancery, who relates this anecdote in his biography of Rudbeck, contained in *Samlin-*

gar i Svenska Historien, opines that this discipline was the foundation of the contempt of pomp and circumstance, which distinguished Rudbeck through his whole after-life.

At the expiration of his penance, he proceeded to the university of Upsal, and became a student. His fondness for mechanical pursuits continued unabated, and the movements of the heavenly bodies, and the wonderful arrangement and harmonious relations of the universe attracted his most profound attention. He composed some essays on these subjects, which are no longer extant. In later years he noted down some observations on comets, which he communicated to Nicholas Heinsius, Dutch minister at the Swedish court, and which are preserved in Stanislaus Lubinietz's *Theatrum Cometicum*. His later views on the passage of the sun through the zodiac are found in his *Atlantica*, where, by an acute and consistent train of reasoning, he shows that the Egyptians had a clear notion of the annual motions of the earth and of the heavenly bodies, but that they were accustomed to deliver their science in enigmatical and symbolical forms. These dark hints he develops so ingeniously, and renders his explanations so plausible, that the reader is amazed, if he be not convinced, that the hieroglyphics and fictions of the Egyptians have really the meaning indicated by our author. While a student at Upsal, Rudbeck devoted special attention to anatomy, dissecting many subjects, both human and brute, and persevered in his researches into their internal, fibrous, nervous, muscular and circulatory structure, until he succeeded in detecting new *ductus salivales* and *vasa lymphatica*. In fact, he was so distinguished an anatomist when barely twenty two, that when queen Christina was at Upsal, she caused Rudbeck to exhibit an anatomical demonstration upon a subject, in presence of her majesty, the council, and the whole court. This task he executed to the satisfaction of all present, and having now received a handsome stipend, for the purpose of foreign travel, and improving himself in science, and especially in medicine, he repaired to Holland.

[Nyerup here examines, at considerable length, the claims of Bartholinus and Rudbeck to priority of discovery of the lymphatics, and concludes with Haller, that Rudbeck was the first discoverer of these vessels, though it is probable that Bartholin also detected them, before the result of Rudbeck's investigations was made public.]

Rudbeck's absence continued but a year or thereabouts, and yet he returned incredibly enriched with ideas, drawings and models. As soon as he reached home, he set about constructing various machines to be driven by wind and water, as well as some automata. He built bridges supported by arches, instead of posts, and erected fulling-mills, paper-mills, artificial fountains, and screws of Archimedes. He contrived organs and other musical instruments, as well as many other ingenious devices, and understood turning, filing, forging, and engraving as well as the most skilful artisans. With all this versatility of talent, it is not surprising, that at the coronation of Charles XI. he had the superintendence of all the preparations for the occasion, both in building, and in decoration, painting, allegorical representations, music and fireworks.

He brought home from Holland, to his native land, a good supply of foreign plants and herbs, seeds, bulbs, grafts, and entire trees, and when he reached Upsal with his treasures in 1654, he immediately issued a program, inviting all and sundry the good people of Upsal to view his precious rarities, at his house, upon a day appointed for the purpose. He afterwards regretted, that he had not obtained the use of the great lecture room in the university buildings, or at least hired spacious apartments in the city, to accommodate the crowd of virtuosi, whom he expected to throng in upon him. But—he might have spared his regrets—the day arrived, and not a visiter presented himself. He was deeply grieved at the indifference and apathy of the students, and his vexation at the disappointment of his hopes relieved itself by a flood of tears. He soon recovered himself, reflecting that *ignoti nulla cupido*, and was cheered by the hope of infusing into the students a knowledge of, and a taste for a study, which had been wholly neglected at the university. With the seeds and plants, which he had brought from Holland, he laid the foundation of a botanic garden, where, in summer-houses and alleys, in peripatetic fashion, he delivered lectures on the properties and virtues of every herb, so that he may be justly styled the Linnæus of his time. In 1658, he published a catalogue of the plants in his garden, and after having, from time to time enlarged and improved it, at his own expense, he bestowed it upon the university. We learn from Bartholin's *Medicina Danorum domestica*, that he had an orangery and green-house in his garden, and devoted much attention to exotics. Of the work just mentioned Bartholin sent Rudbeck a copy in 1666, together with a letter which clearly shows, that no spark of ill-will existed between these anatomical rivals. The letter is printed among the encomia prefixed to the second volume of the *Atlantica*. As early as 1658, Rudbeck became professor of botany and anatomy, at the university of Upsal. That he had devoted special attention to obstetrics, besides the other branches of the healing art, may be inferred from the fact, that when his own wife was in labor, he, according to general tradition, performed the cæsarean operation upon her, with such signal success, that both mother and child survived; but it is fair to add, that Acrel believes the delivery to have been merely instrumental, and not cæsarean.

Rudbeck's comprehensive mind now occupied itself with the investigation of the antiquities of his country, and with this view, he collected a museum, which was well supplied with ancient coins, and with the spoils derived from the opening of sepulchral barrows and tombs, such as urns, knives and other weapons of stone, swords of metal, boat-spikes, and the like. His ardent patriotism, and deep devotion to all that pertained to his country, were conspicuously displayed in his renowned *ATLANTICA*, a work of such compass, and requiring such incredibly extensive reading, and so much profound research, that one cannot comprehend how a man, who had duties enough to discharge as professor, as *curator perpetuus* of the university, and as a practising physician, and who, moreover, was occupied the whole day with so many other avocations, could contrive to find time for its composition. He must have encroached largely upon the

night, and deprived himself of sleep, for the purpose of shedding light on the darkest regions of Scandinavian antiquity.

The history of the work is briefly this. It originated in the close friendship between Rudbeck and Olaus Verelius. When the latter was publishing his edition of *Hervararsaga*, he desired Rudbeck to prepare a map of Sweden, for the purpose of illustrating some passages in this saga. This task Rudbeck readily undertook. While engaged in its execution, it struck him, that he had met, in Greek and Latin authors, with names of persons and places, resembling those which occur in *Hervararsaga*. Pursuing this idea further and further, he advanced so far into the ocean of antiquarian lore, that he could not readily win his way back to land again, and Verelius, who could not postpone the publication of his book to suit Rudbeck's convenience, gave it to the world, without the map, in 1672.

Rudbeck, however, did not abandon his researches, but advanced with gigantic strides, in his antiquarian career. At the close of the year 1673, he showed his lucubrations to Verelius, who was completely enraptured with them, and begged him to submit them to the venerable Loccenius. When Loccenius read them, he was so delighted, that he wept for joy, and on the 28th of December, 1673, he wrote to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, chancellor of the university, as follows: "Professor Rudbeck hath composed a Work, touching the first Original and Ancientry of Sweden, with that Industry, and Display of Parts, as Sweden hath, in such Matters, hitherto never seen the Like." Verelius also wrote to the chancellor in the same strain of commendation, and represented how important it was for the honor of Sweden, that the work should be published, suggesting, at the same time, that the author could not bear the expense of printing it. De la Gardie, in fact, obtained public aid, and the work was put to press, Verelius hastening the publication with such urgent zeal, that Rudbeck, as he declares, had not time to revise, or even arrange and copy what he had collected.

Rudbeck first designed to publish the Swedish text of his work alone, but Verelius and other friends induced him to subjoin a Latin translation. "Also," says he in the dedication to Verelius, "I had purposed to put it forth in our Mother Tongue only, as many other learned Men have done in Tractates regarding their Father-land, because if it were of any Worth, there should not lack who would turn it into Latin, French, or other Tongues, as hath been done with other Men's Books. But both you, and others who had perused certain heads thereof, were minded, that a Latin Interpretation should follow therewith. And this I would myself fain have made, though it would have cost much Time, seeing that I now for many Years have little followed that Speech, or indeed others, always esteeming it better to attain certain and sufficient Knowledge of many Things, then to puzzle my Head with grammatical Curiosities; and so I have, by the Counsel of yourself and others, engaged a good Friend herein, who hath taken the chief Burthen thereof on himself." The work was accordingly printed in parallel columns of Swedish and Latin, but the translation is so very loose, not to say paraphrastical, as not to give the reader the smallest notion of the style of the original. The Swedish

literati are not agreed who the translator was. Fant, the latest critic who has investigated the subject, supposes that it was a Salanus, either Nicholas, Peter or Jonas, three brothers, all good Latinists, and the elder of whom enjoyed very intimate and friendly relations with Rudbeck. In spite of the impatience with which Verelius hastened the printing, it was a considerable time before any part of the work was brought to light, and while the sheets were passing through the press, the copy grew under the hands of the author, so as to become far more voluminous than he had expected, and the funds appropriated to the printing began to fail. This he alludes to in Vol. I. page 628, in these words. "Because the Book hath swoln beyond Expectation, and contrariwise my Purse is become more lank than I trowed. For these twenty-six chapters were designed to make a fourth Part of my Work, and to be printed on one A, B, C (of signatures namely), which now have filled no less than four whole Alphabets." Thus discovering that he could not exhaust so copious a subject at a breath, he promised, time and opportunity serving, a continuation or second volume.

When the first volume actually left the press, it is not so easy to decide. We can much more readily determine when it did *not* appear. It certainly was not published in 1675, although the title-page expressly says: "excudit Henricus Curio, 1675." This date, at farthest, can only indicate the *beginning* of the printing. On page 120, we find that the year 1677 is called the *present* year. On page 171 the author speaks of an antiquarian excursion, made in company with Professor Celsius in July, 1677. On page 260, he announces various antiquarian researches and discoveries at the church in Old Upsal, in the year 1677, and on page 877 he says, "I bought not Marmor Amndelianum until the year 1678," and as he does not speak of that year as the current one, it is probable that this line was penned in 1679. We have now arrived at the year, when, to the astonishment of the literary world, the work was really brought out. It must have appeared early in that year, for in a collection of critiques and encomia upon the *Atlantica*, which has been often printed, we find Ljung writing from Leyden, under date of May 29, 1679, that he had lent the work to two celebrated professors there, Gronovius and Ryequius, who read it with admiration. Of course it must have been issued as early as March or April; and finally, by way of further confirmation, we may add, that in the dedication to the second volume, written in 1689, it is said that the work had been ten years before the public.

The first volume of the *Atlantica* consists of 891* pages, besides three unpagged folios containing the dedication to Verelius, and a few words to the reader, and exclusively of the maps, plates, and tables, which are of the atlas form, and are usually bound separately. The work is of the

* Warmholtz and all the bibliographers agree with Nyerup in giving 891 as the number of pages, but in our copy, which is of the *undated* edition, pages 818 and 819 are *repeated*, and of course the true number is 893. G. P. M.

folio size, and the title is printed both in Swedish and Latin, the latter running as follows :

OLAVI RUDBECKII ATLANTICA SIVE MANHEIM, vera JAPHETI posteriorum sedes ac patria, ex qua non tantum Monarchae et Reges ad totum fere orbem reliquum regendum ac domandum, Stirpesque suas in eo condendas, sed etiam *Scythæ, Barbari, Asæ, Gigantes, Gothi, Phryges, Trojani, Amazones, Thraces, Libyes, Mauri, Tuscii, Galli, Cimbri, Cimmerii, Saxones, Germani, Svevi, Longobardi, Vandali, Heruli, Gepidæ, Teutones, Angli, Pictones, Dani, Sicambri*, alique virtute clari et celebres populi olim exierunt. UPSALÆ, excudit HENRICUS CURIO, S. R. M., et Academia Upsal. Bibliopola, 1675. Before the title-page is a copper-plate frontispiece, representing the earth, with designations of some few places distinguished as the residences of certain ancient races, as the *Scythæ, Getæ, Tusci, Turci*, etc. The globe is overshadowed by a tree, bearing on its trunk the names of the ancestors of the human family, *Shem, Ham* and *Japhet*, and on its boughs those of *Atlas, Bore, Atin, (Odin,) Mader, Gustavus* and others.*

At the end of the volume is a chaplet engraved on wood, in the centre of which is represented a sword crossed by a pen, with this inscription :

Genom pennan lefver värjan.

By the pen, the sword lives.

We have seen that the year 1675 was not the true date of the publication of the work, and indeed the copies were not all issued with title-pages bearing that date, for some are found whose imprint gives the true year, 1679. But this title-page, though truly dated, is false in another particular, for it describes the volume as "editio secunda multis in locis emendata et aucta," which is altogether false; the edition is the same we have already described, and the most remarkable circumstance connected with it is, that the title-page was altered without being recomposed. The printer used the original form, which had not been distributed, merely inserting "Editio secunda," &c., and substituting 1679 for 1675. This is clearly shown by Ekholm in an article in *Almänna Bibliotheket* for 1776.

A new and more correct edition in fact appeared afterwards, printed on paper of better quality. The title is the same as that of the first edition, excepting that the date is altogether omitted. It is however known from contemporaneous journals, and other evidence, that it was published in 1684.

There is still another edition of the first volume, entirely different from the two already mentioned. It contains only the Latin translation without the Swedish text. It was printed at Upsal in 1696, in a folio of 311 pages, and is of such rarity that only two or three copies are known to exist.

* In our copy the name of Japhet appears upon the root of the tree, and those of Shem and Ham are inscribed on the root of a vine, which bears on its leaves the names of Abraham, Moses, and David, and over its topmost cluster, that of Jesus. G. P. M.

To the first volume of the *Atlantica* belong forty-three plates and tables of atlas size, containing 159 figures, chiefly engraved on wood, with two synchronistic tables, which were issued after the publication of the others. It may gratify collectors, who may suppose their copies to be imperfect, to know that Table 5, which appears to be wanting in all the copies, never in fact existed, the number 5 having been passed over by mistake. This appears from the directions to the binder, in the Duc de la Valiere's copy, the only one known to contain such directions.

The frontispiece, or first plate in the atlas, which was engraved at Upsal, by Dionysius Padt of Bruges, represents the author sitting with a globe before him, and surrounded by Plato, Aristotle, Orpheus, Hesiod, Homer, Plutarch, Apollodorus, Ptolemy, Tacitus, and in short, by all of whose authority he has availed himself to support or grace his hypotheses.

In what then do these hypotheses consist? We shall best answer this question by allowing Rudbeck to speak for himself. On pages 887—889 of the first volume, he gives a recapitulation embracing the principal grounds on which he builds his system. His words are as follows:

This Structure which I build consisteth of III Parts, as namely; I. the Foundation; II. the Walls and Roof; III. the Paintings and Decorations. The Decorations and Paintings please not all alike; for when one would have Green, another would have Gray; and would one Doric, another would have Ionic. Hereby I mean the Style, and the Etymology of Words; for peradventure one preferreth rather that Neptunus* should derive his Name from Washing, or Fashioning of a Multitude of Shapes, than from the Rule of the Sea; and of Hercules, rather that he be the Pride of Juno, than that he signify the Leader of the Host.

The Walls and Roof to this Structure call I all the Writings of the Ancients, by which this Building is put together; speak they not the Truth, so neither do I, for I lived not at or before the Time of Troy City.

The Foundation I call the Land, Lakes, Mountains, Rivers and the like of Sweden, whereby the Ancients have betokened her Figure and Situation; all which signs abide immovably until the Stone, whereof the Prophet Daniel speaketh, which Stone did plant them, shall fall from Heaven, and grind all to Powder.

Meanwhile none hath yet availed

1. To seize Charles' Wain or the Great Bear in the Heavens by the Leg, and drag him down to dip his Feet in the Sea, but they yet stand over Sweden unmoistened, as Homerus describeth him over our Swedeland.

* Rudbeck here refers to the old etymology of Neptunus ἀπὸ τοῦ νίπτειν and of Ποσειδῶν from πόσσειν εἶδος. Our author himself derives Neptunus from NEPSA to restrain, and TUN that which encompasses, and he traces Ποσειδῶν to BASA to control or punish, and DON the roar of waters. Hercules (Ἡρακλῆς) has been derived from Ἡρας κλέος, but Rudbeck finds the origin of the name in HER, army, and KULLE or KOLLE, head. *Atlantica* I. 722, 752.

2. No Tailor hath contrived Shears so mighty, wherewith he could clip Sweden, so that she should lack aught of the 5000 Furlongs of Length, which Plato giveth her.
3. No King of Sweden hath yet willed to move Old Upsala from her Site, or transferred to any other City Old Upsala's name, but, as she was 2000 Furlongs from Torneå, and 3000 Furlongs from the Sound, 1000 years before Plato's Time, even so is she now.
4. Nor hath any Man had a Ship with so well-shod Keel, that he could sail straight over our perpetual Cliffs, and rocky Islets, which make our Sea more like a River or a Flood, and the Windings of a Serpent, than the Ocean, but they abide as Plato, Pomponius Mela, Solinus and Aristoteles describe them.
5. Though overmuch Slime floweth down every Year in the Waters of Fyriså to the Sea, yet it hath not availed to fill up that Sea, but as, according to the Words of Plato, it was 50 Furlongs from Old Upsala to the Seashore, even so is it to this Day.
6. Though full many Tempests and mighty Rain-Showers be fallen in 4000 years, yet have they not washed away the Mount whereon stood Old Upsala's heathen Temple, and King's Palace, so that it should be less than Plato describeth it, namely five Furlongs in Length.
7. Nor yet hath the Hippodrome been minished by Rain or Tempest, but, as Plato saith, it yet holdeth a Furlong of Breadth.
8. Mount Ida yet giveth unheard-of much Iron.
9. Likewise Fahlun inexhaustible Copper, as Plato, Diodorus Siculus, and Pomponius Mela write.
10. None hath yet, by Archimedes' Screw been able to turn aside Sol from his Path, so that he should not be 23 Hours in Sight at Torneå in the Summer, as Plutarchus relateth.
11. Nor hath any yet found so large a Stopple, that he hath been able to plug up the Malström, which Homerus, Socrates, Plato, Aristoteles, Paulus Diaconus and Heberstenius have described, and which yet rageth on the Norwegian Shore of Swedeland.
12. And though we do now begin to build Orangeries in Sweden to shelter the Trees against the Cold of Winter, yet they avail not to the covering of our Firs and Pines, that their Spikes and Beard be not full of Snow and Ice in Winter, as Virgilius declareth.
13. We cannot turn the World awry, so that the Ends thereof shall not be far in the North, where none can endure to dwell, as Euripides, Tacitus, Hesiodus and others deliver.
14. None hath, by Joshua's Prayer, persuaded Sol to change his appointed Course, but he yet, in the uttermost borders of Sweden, maketh Elysium, that is to say, Nights all shining with Light in the Summer; and in the Winter, withdrawing him by the Space of ninety Days, Cimmerian Darkness, as Homerus speaketh.
15. Though the Hollanders, the Hamburgers, the English and others do sail north about Sweden's uttermost Headland with 200 or 300 Ships and Vessels yearly, yet doth Neptunus forbid them with his icy Sea to sail further, as saith Euripides.
16. None hath minished the curved Line of Sweden's rocky Coast, but the same holdeth its Length of 6000 Furlongs, as Pytheas delivereth.

17. Nor yet have the English, Hamburg, Norwegian, Dutch or our own Fishermen made to themselves Nets so many and so strong, that they could fish out the many Sea-Bears, Sea-Horses, Seals, Otters and other Beasts, which Pausanias, Herodotus and Festus write of.
18. The Mountain-Chain yet standeth unmolten, and encompasseth Sweden like a Wall or an Amphitheatre, according to the Words of Plato, Maximus Tyrius, Tacitus and Adam of Bremen.
19. Sweden yet lieth 600,000 paces from the Rhine, as the great Emperor Julius affirmeth.
20. Though they have brought hither, a thousand Times, Dutch Cows, Frisian Horses, English and Persian Sheep, yet no Herdsman hath been found, who could make them abide by their Kind, but they follow the Law of Sweden, and in the third or fourth Generation become little, as the Emperor Julius declareth.
21. Nor hath any been able to uproot the Riphæan and the Hyperborean Mountains, and hurl the Riphæan to the West, and the Hyperborean Chain to the East of Sweden, but they persist unmoved, as Orpheus describeth them.

The first volume of the *Atlantica* is divided into forty chapters under the following heads:—Of the requisites for the attainment of a knowledge of antiquity; Of the criteria by which the identity or diversity of nations is established; When, and by whom Sweden was first peopled; What attracted men to inhabit the remote northern regions; The antiquity of Sweden proved by the Chronological system of the inhabitants of that country; The antiquity of Sweden proved by the sepulchral barrows of the people; The antiquity of Sweden proved by the most ancient writings of the Egyptians, Greeks and Romans, as well as of native authors, and herein of some of the ancient names of Sweden, and especially of *Atlantica*; Of the *Atlantis* and *Ogygia* of Homer and other writers; Of the Isle of the Hyperboreans, as one of the names of Sweden; Of *Scythia*, a name of Sweden; Of *Basilica*, a name of Sweden; Of *Balthia*, a name of Sweden; Of *Manheim* (*Bannomanna*), an ancient name of Sweden; Of *Osericta*, or the Isle of the Gods, a name of Sweden; Of *Elixoia*, or the Isle of the Blest, an appellation of Sweden; Of *Scandia*, or *Scandinavia*, a name of Sweden; Of *Gothia*, or *Codanonia*, a name of Sweden; Of *Gallia*, *Galatia*, or *Galgavia*, names of Sweden; Of *Thule*, also a name of Sweden; Of the island *Vergion*, or *Sweden*; Of the *Chersonesus Cimbrica*, a name of Sweden; Of *Acheron* and the infernal regions; Of the Gardens of the *Hesperides* and the *Elysian Fields* in Sweden; Of the proper name of our country, *Sweden*; Of the *Riphæan* mountains; Of the expedition of *Orpheus* and the *Argonauts*; Of the origin of the names of the Gods and Kings of Sweden, and their derivation; Of *Saturn* or *Boreas*; Of *Jo-fur*, *Jo-mala*, or *Jo-pitter* (*Jove* or *Jupiter*), who is also called *Thor* and *Tyss*; Of *Neptune*; Of *Odin* or *Pluto*; Of *Heimdall*, *Hermod*, *As* and *Mercury*; Of *Hercules*; Of *Apollo* or *Baldur*; Of the Gods' first expedition from Sweden; Of the origin of the *Trojans* or *Phrygians*; Of the second great expedition by the *Gauls*; Of our *Runic* letters, and how the *Greeks* derived their Alphabet from us; Of the

Golden Apples; Of the computation of time, and the synchronology of our kings, and those of the Hebrews, Chaldeans, Egyptians, Romans and others.

Thus much must suffice for a general view of the work, and of our author's mode of reasoning, or, in his own phrase, of the "Foundation, and the Walls and Roof" of his card-house (*sit venia verbo*). The character of the "Painting and Decorations, or Style and Etymology of words," may be gathered from our previous citations and the following extracts. The address to the reader, and the concluding paragraph of the first volume, will serve as specimens of Rudbeck's style of composition, and the chapter on the Chersonesus Cimbrica contains one of his most plausible etymologies.

He introduces himself to his reader thus :

Benevolent Reader,

I here present Thee some old Novelties, or new Antiques, praying Thee, if Thou hast not Time to peruse this Work clean through once, so neither wilt Thou read any Page thereof; and if Thou hast not Leisure to study it through ten Times, then do not read it once, especially if Thou wilt utter thy Censure thereof, in the Love of the Truth, which shall be right welcome to me (for the whole Work is as it were a chain, whereof if but one Link be missed, it bindeth not, though it were never so strong); hoping also that the gentle Reader will go gingerly through my Book, for I have taken upon myself to grub up a Highway, which for 3 or 4000 years is grown over with terribly great and high Trees, as Pindarus delivereth in his *Pyth. Od. 10*, and I have now, with much ado, cut my Way through, and there be a Deal of Stumps left standing, and the Way is uneven, until it be used and well worn smooth, all which I hope shall be achieved, with the Help of God the most High.

The Cause wherefore I have taken upon myself this weary Labor, the gentle Reader may gather from mine Epistle dedicatory to the famous Professor Verelius, and the general conclusion of my Book in the 40th chapter. And so I wish Thee abundant Blessing.

The concluding paragraph is as follows :

And now I tire of reckoning up more Tokens, which do infallibly shew the Figure and Situation of Sweden, and the more, for that the gracious Reader will find them scattered, not sparingly, but out of a full Hand, in this my Book; and I pray him, if he find any Slips, which be crept therein through over-Hastiness, or other Cause, that he either rectify the same, or otherwise, if I be reminded thereof, I shall gladly make them right. For to be without Fault, or rather to refuse to confess such, is a great Weakness in Man.—So I profess that I desire at all Times to have in Mind what the Lowland Gardener wrote in the first Beginning of his Book; which was after this Wise. When all Europe began to sail to the East and to the West Indies, and brought thence all manner of savory Spices, and Beasts and Fowls, and they which returned therefrom did report, as Travellers be wont, of more and stranger Things than be in Truth found in those Parts, and many learned Men to

whom such Things were told did deck them out fairly with Eloquence of Words, a simple Gardener, seeing these Spices, was moved with a Purpose to voyage and view those Lands, which yielded the Like. So he voyaged and came again, and in his Simplicity wrote a Book of what he had himself witnessed. But when the learned Men, who had before described those Lands were aware of it, disdaining that the Relation of a common Gardener should come to Light, they made their Complaint to Apollo and the other Gods, and prayed he would suppress that Work, and in no Wise suffer the same to go abroad. So Apollo called the Gardener, and required that he should deliver up his Book; but when the other Gods seized the Book, and would have burned it, Apollo suddenly cried out: "Go to! let me see an Exemplar thereof." And when he had received it, and opened it at the first Folio, he found written there: *ET NOS HOMINES, we be but men*, and herewith was he startled, and said: "the Gardener peradventure meaneth that we too may err." "Wherefore," said he to the Gods, "we will, to disport us, journey to the Indies, and see who hath come nearest to the White." So Apollo and the others journeyed thither, and came again; and they found that the Gardener with his own proper Experience had jumped better with the Truth in his simple Book, than they who decked out Things by the Relations of others. So he said to the Gods, and the learned Men who made their Complaint, that from that Day forward all Men should write upon their Fingernails, to the End that they might always have the same in Remembrance, this Saying, *ET VOS HOMINES, Ye too be but Men*.

We give a part of the 22d chapter which treats "Of Chersonesus Cimbrica, a name of Sweden."

Most Part of the Learned in these Days do opinion, after Ptolemæus, that Chersonesus Cimbrica is Jutland, but that they do go astray with him, we will now shew by the Ancients who lived before Ptolemæus. And first we will go to the ancientest of Bards, which is Orpheus, who fetched a Compass about Sweden with the Argonauts, which Voyage Hornius in his Ancient Atlas hath nearly set forth, and hath placed the Cimmerian Folk nigh unto Finland, as you shall see by his fourth Table, Fig. 8, whereas he should set that People above Finland, as we shall shew more at large, in a several Capitulum upon Orpheus. But it is not to be marvelled at, seeing Hornius was no Swede, who should have Knowledge of our Lands, which Orpheus, who had himself journeyed by the same, setteth forth in the same Ordinance as we find them at this Day, which order we will reserve to our said promised Chapter, and here bring forward only the Cimmerians' Land, which Orpheus describeth by these manifest Tokens following.

Rudbeck here gives twenty-two reasons for believing, that Remi Lappmark is the Chersonesus Cimbrica, and its inhabitants the Cimmerii of the ancients, and concludes his reasoning with the following etymological argument.

23. And now we will come to the Original of the Word. By the ancients, we see expressly that they did take Cimbri and Cimmerii for

one Word, and betokening one Thing in the mother Tongue, as namely so much as a Wolf, or Sea-Rover, or one that wasteth both Land and Folk, which may be seen by Plutarchus and Festus. And true it is, that the Word Cimbri (kämpar, *champions*) doth indeed come nigh unto that Signification, but this is not the true Interpretation of Cimmerii, though the Cimbri and Cimmerii be but one Folk, and of one Land. For *Kim* in our Speech denoteth Darkness; as *kimmur wäder*, *Weather murky by Reason of Mist or Haze*. And hence *KIM*, Soot in the Chimney, and *KIM-RÖK*, Lampblack. Also *Kymi* is a Tent wherein the Laplanders do abide, *Gretla*, c. 54, and *Kimboar*, they which dwell in such, and do flit to and fro. And either Signification doth well sort with our Swedes who inhabit the uttermost North, and be rightly called *Kimrar* and *Kimboar*, because they dwell where Darkness is, and in Tents. But the name Cimbri (kämpar) hath its Original of *KIPPA*, which is to strive, fight, seize or make Prey, as in *Olof's Saga*, 68, 98, 207, 208, and *Gautrek's Saga*, 35, and hereby it appeareth, that Plutarchus and Festus do rightly hold, that the Cimbri be well called Robbers. *Käppas* is to strive or fight one with another, *Herv. Saga*, 4, and *kämpe* is the same as *kampe* and *SKIEMPE* in *Gautrek's Saga*, 20, *Herv. Saga*, 7, and many more which be found in the famous *Verelius*, his Lexicon. The Latins *Sicambri* are *Sjökämpar*, or as who should say *Sea-Champions*, they who rove and plunder or fight by Sea, and with the Greeks this Word is written with *κίππα*, answerable to our *K* and the Latin *C*, which is pronounced half-wise *S*, by Reason whereof the Word is sometimes written with *S*, *SC*, *C* and *K*.

And so we have now shewn how Ptolemæus hath put sundry Parts of Sweden in Jutland and Iceland amiss, which now, by the Help of the most ancientest Authors, we have brought back to their proper Place in Sweden.

The universal applause with which the work was received encouraged our author to persevere in his labors, and after the lapse of ten years he brought out the second volume, in Swedish and Latin, under the following title:

OLAVI RUDBECKII ATLANTICÆ sive MANHEIM PARS SECUNDA in quâ Solis, Lunæ, ac Terræ cultus describitur, omnisque adeo superstitionis hujusce origo parti Sveoniæ Septentrionali, Terræ puta Cimmeriorum vindicatur ex quâ demceps in Orbem reliquum divulgata est: Idque Scriptorum non tantum domesticorum, Sed etiam externorum, maxime vero veterum atque doctissimarum fabularum fide, quarum explicatio genuina nusquam ante hanc nostram in lucem prodit. Accedunt demonstrationes certissimæ, quæ Septentrionalis nostros, in maxime geminum Solis ac Lune motum, indeque pendentem accuratissimum temporum rationem, multo et prius et felicius, quam gentem aliam ullam olim penetrasse, ac etiam alia multa ad hanc usque diem incognita declarant, UPSALÆ excudit HENRICUS CURIO S. R. M. et Acad. Upsal. Bibliopola, anno 1689.

The second volume contains 672 pages, besides seven unpagged folios of dedication and preface, thirty-eight pages of encomia from the learned of all Europe, and an index and table of errata to both volumes. It is dedicated to King Charles XI. who had aided its publication by a liberal

gift, and had, moreover, in a letter dated Oct. 6, 1685, expressed a flattering opinion of the work, saying that, "according to the favorable Censure of many learned Men, it doth establish and certainly prove, by many good and sufficient Reasons, the Ancientry of the Realm of Sweden, and furthermore giveth Light in much hitherto concealed Knowledge, to the Glory and Profit of our Fatherland." In the preface Rudbeck returns his thanks to the many learned men, who had judged his work so favorably, and whose encomia, in compliment to them, and in testimony of the truth of the ancients, he prefixes to the volume. He excuses himself from specially answering the doubts, and resolving the difficulties they had suggested, on the ground of the remoteness of his residence, and the tediousness and uncertainty of epistolary correspondence, and refers them all to his second volume for a general reply, making this apology for adopting a chronological arrangement of their critiques.

Craving Pardon, that I have not set them forth in the Ordinance, which each Man's distinguished Services, Age, Learning or other Conditions do rightfully require, but only according to the Times they be severally penned, or be come into the hands of the Man who taketh care for their Printing, being well advised that with truly noble and learned Men, no ambition or envious Craving after Honor hath any Room, but only to seek after Wisdom. Also, continues he, I have expected now these ten or twelve years, if, for the better Furthering of the Truth, any should be found, both more largely travelled in the World, as having visited both the East and West Indies, so also Africa, or other most remote Borders, and better seen in the Books and Writings of the ancientest and latest Authors than myself, that should discover some Country, which in its Situation, Latitude and Longitude, Rivers, Lakes, and Conditions of the People and Rulers, should answer more straightly to the Tokens whereby Atlantica is described of Homerus, Plato, Maximus Tyrius, Plutarchus and other wise Ancients, and that the same do not fitly sort with the Realm of Sweden, which Tokens I here again in few will reckon up; as first, that it is reported to lie under the North Star, which the Indwellers there do call Charles' Wain, and which maketh his Gyration above their Head. 2. Next, is an Island circumfluous. 3. Where the Umbilicus or Navel of the Sea, Malström or Acheron, is. 4. That it aboundeth in Wood. 5. Which lieth five Days' journey from England. 6. Upon a Bay of the Sea not less than Mæotis. 7. Where for thirty Days in the Summer, Sol dippeth below the Horizon but for an Hour. 8. Whose Bay is properly called Bonde or Botn. 9. By a straight Sound, where the Pillars of Hercules be found. 10. A Land which hath 5000 Furlongs of Length. 11. Is greater than Libya, or Asia properly so called of Old. 12. Whose King hight is Atlas (Atle). 13. And of him was called the Atlantic. 14. And the Land Atlantica. 15. And his Descendants, Atlantidæ. 16. And the Mountains thereof, Mount Atlas. 17. Whose Beard is full of Ice. 18. All which Land's Situation, Power and Dominion lay to the Westward of Greece. 19. The whole face of the Country Highland. 20. And compassed about with Mountains like an Amphitheatre. 21. The chiefest City and Heart of that Land lying on a level Plain. 22. Wherefrom was 3000

Furlongs to the End of the Land, upwards, and netherward to the Sea or Sound, 2000 Furlongs. 23. By which is found a mighty Multitude of small Isles. 24. And the Mountains of that Land right famous. 25. The Course whereof, and of the Land runneth from South to North. 26. And the Fashion of the Land well nigh four-cornered. 27. Compassed about with innumerable many rocky Islets. 28. The Profundity of the Waters being thirty Fathom. 29. Whose chief metropolis lieth in the Midst of the Land, in a fair and fruitful Place. 30. And fifty Furlongs from the Seaside. 31. And the King's House is on a Mount having five Furlongs of Length. 32. Compassed about with divers Hillocks and Mounds. 33. And a Hippodrome of the Breadth of a Furlong. 34. Two Rivers, which flowed toward that City. 35. And no broader than one Hundred Foot, or so that two Triremes or Gallies might well pass. 36. Which Streams did bring down Wood to that City. 37. And were 100 Furlongs asunder. 38. And fetching a Compass in an oval Fashion, around the City. 39. Did then flow into the Sea. 40. Having three Royal Havens. 41. A Wall fifty Furlongs from the outermost circuit of the City. 42. A Land rich in all manner of Metals. 43. And in especial, in Copper. 44. Abounding in sundry manner of Beasts. 45. The King's names of that Land be first interpreted in the Egyptian Tongue, and then turned into Greek. 46. The whole Island or Land divided into ten Parcels or Kingdoms. 47. And whereof one Tithé or tenth Part Atle did receive as the Heritage of his Mother. 48. And did make the same a Realm heritable by Descent. 49. And that his Children after him, in that Place, should be Suzerains or Over-Kings to the other nine Kingdoms in the Land. 50. Whose Brother Gaute received the Realm, which lay by the Sound, and of him was called Gautrike. 51. And the third Brother hight Baldur, with the Ship Hringhorni, answerable to the Greek Ampheres. 52. And the fourth, Niörd, to whom Skálða giveth the Appellation of Fegjöfi, which is of like signification as Eudemon. 53. The fift, Hauder (Höder), whom Edda styleth Memorable, which answereth unto Mneseus. 54. The sixt, Vale, who hath his name of Val, *campus*, and so accords with Autocthon, or *earth-born*. 55. The seventh, Vidar, who did overcome a Wolf, which serveth Witches for a Horse, and hence cometh his Greek Name, Elaspippus. 56. The eighth, Uller, the Greeks did call Mnestor, or Mestor, in Regard he was a right skilful Jaculator. 57. The ninth, Heimdalr, called in Skálða the White As, and to him Plato giveth the same name, to wit, Azaes. 58. The tenth is called of Plato Diaprepes, which answereth unto agiætastr, an Epithet of our Bragur. 59. And Atle, the Brother and Suzerain of these, had his Abode on that little Mount of five Furlongs, the Temple whereof was an open Court or Hall (*yppen sal*). 60. And upon this Mount was nought save this Temple (Upsal), and the King's House. 61. In which Temple the King's children did celebrate their Nuptials. 62. The Temple was compassed about with Golden Chainwork. 63. But otherwise inartificially wrought. 64. Though bedecked with Gold, Silver and Copper. 65. Every year they must once come to an Allhärjars Ting, or General Council. 66. But in special every fift or sixt year. 67. Neptunus' sacred Grove was nigh unto the Temple, with his sacrificial Fount. 68. And with them, warm Baths were of common use. 69. The whole Land was divided into

Hundreds. 70. Which were to the number of 1060, making no Account of the Dwellers in Mountains and Mines. 71. The King's Fleet was of 1200 Ships. 72. Every Province had its proper Law. 73. And thereto a General Law. 74. As, in special, how they should choose and crown their King. 75. When they should first make Sacrifice. 76. And sprinkle the Blood on the Altars and Pillars of the Temple. 77. That they should swear an Oath of Fealty to their King, and likewise of Concord. 78. Should drink Bowls in Honour of their Gods. 79. And observe the Laws graved in Brass. 80. And celebrate Yule-Eve. 81. And thereafter array them in their blue Royal Raiment, to dispense Justice. 82. And then take counsel of martial Concernments. 83. And how they should render Judgment, if any of the Kings or their Blood-Kin did offend. 84. And furthermore Plato delivereth, that this Land did war with them of Athens and of Greece, and also did go out against the Rest of Europe and Asia, and in special against Hetruria, and likewise Egypt.—Wherefore if there be any who will deny these Tokens unto Sweden, let him view her Land and her Metropolis, Old Upsal, and search out her Laws, Customs, Justiciaries, Ordinance, and the Form and Fashion of her Rule, and if he find that I have not fairly set forth these Tokens, I shall willingly be beholden to make his journey free of cost to him.

The following are the subjects of the eleven chapters of which this volume consists. That Plato's Atlantis was not a fiction, nor was it America, Africa, or the Canaries, but the country now called Sweden; The right interpretation of the enigmatical and symbolical mythi of the ancients; The introduction of the Scandinavian mythi into Greece, Egypt, Libya and Asia; New proofs of the identity of Sweden and Atlantis drawn from these mythi, and the testimony of the Greek and Roman authors; Of sunworship, and its introduction into Europe, Asia, and Africa; Of earthworship, and its introduction from the North into the rest of the world; The rape of Proserpine, and the introduction of the cerealia into Sweden; Of moonworship; Explanation of the Runestaff; Of the magic drum of the Laplanders; Of the Mensa Isiaca.

Half a score of years later appeared the third volume of the *Atlantica* under this title; OLAVI RUDBECKII ATLANTICÆ seu MANHEIMII PARS TERTIA, in qua vetustissima majorum nostrorum Atlantidorum lapidibus, fago, atque cortici Runas suas incidendi ratio, una cum tempore, quo illa primum coeperit, exponitur. Deinde Aurei humeri singulis annis tributi, et Signorum celestium, quæ hinc ad Græcos et Latinos sunt translata, vera origo ac significatio traditur. Tum sex illæ a diluvio Noachi proximæ ætates atque in illis prima Atlantidum nostrorum reipublicæ forma describuntur, quæ migrationes et bella sub Borea seu Saturno ejusque filio Thoro seu Jove, gesta sunt, recensentur; et denique Scytharum Phœnicum, et Amazonum his ducibus in Indo-Scythiam et Phœniciam seu Palestinam e Sveonia factæ expeditiones enarrantur. Quibus omnibus mythologiæ perplures, quarum sensus in hunc usque diem incognitus heri denum detectus prodit, jucundæ sane et perquam utiles adjunguntur. Upsalæ, typis et impensis auctoris, anno 1698. pp. 762.

The third volume, in its general character, is quite similar to the first and second, though inferior in interest and ability. We can only afford space for the following extract from page 305.

A certain learned Man doth opinion, that I have robbed other Lands and Kings of the Renown which doth justly belong to them. But he goeth astray in his Conceit, for I have but recovered what of right appertaineth unto the Truth, and other Parts of the World have plundered from our Swedeland now these 4000 Years; and I have proffered unto every Man the Liberty to come unto Sweden, and that at my own proper Cost and Charges, if he findeth aught to be untrue of what I set forth, that is to say the Groundwork of my Atlantica, and have left open unto all the Way to reclaim all that whereunto they can make good Title, but in any case having first well perused my Atlantica ten Times through; and peradventure, indeed, it ought to be read through twenty or more Times, before one can remember how all mine Arguments do hang together.

The third volume was printed in an office, which the author had established in his own house, and the fourth was put to press, soon after the publication of the third. The printing had advanced to page 210 (or according to Wieselgren to page 214), when a terrible fire destroyed Rudbeck's house and printing-office, together with the greater part of the city, and the palace and cathedral. The unsold copies of the third volume, and the whole edition of the fourth, with the exception of eight or ten copies, and those chiefly imperfect, were consumed. Rudbeck's *Collectanea* for the fourth volume are still preserved, and new editions of the work, or at least of the third and fourth volumes have often been projected, but these proposals, as Wieselgren says, "have met with the same success as those for the restoration for the Jews."

If it be admitted that an author has a right to prescribe the conditions, upon which a critic may exercise jurisdiction over his works, it is obvious, that Rudbeck is tolerably safe from the censure of reviewers. Few we think would be ambitious to qualify themselves for the honor of sitting in judgment upon the theories of our author, by perusing 2500 folio pages, for the tenth time, especially, since it is now too late to avail themselves of Rudbeck's generous offer to treat them to a visit to Sweden, "at his own proper cost and charges," provided always, however, that they succeeded in refuting his arguments to his satisfaction. For ourselves, we honestly confess, that we have not nerve for the task, but though some study of our author has failed to enable us to see exactly "how his arguments do hang together," yet to all who love ingenious argumentation in support of a palpable paradox, clothed in a style of quaint, and brilliant, but negligent luxuriance, overflowing with all the multifarious learning of Sir Thomas Browne, though scarcely attaining to the glowing eloquence, which characterizes the works of that gorgeous writer, we can cheerfully recommend the *Atlantica* of Rudbeck.

For a description of the person and manners of our hero, we refer our

readers to his epitaph by Counsellor Olof Siljeström, though at the risk of disturbing their gravity, by reminding them of Goldsmith's Elegy on Madam Blaize, or of Father Grimes, "that good old man."

" Here lieth buried a Poet old,
Olof Rudbeck, born in Vesterås Fold.
He served well in four Kings' Reigns,
And gave to Learning all his Pains.
He was a Leech, and cut up Folk,
Likewise interpreted the old Bards' Talk.
In Upsal he printed first of all,
And all his Duties performed well.
He never changed the cut of his Dress,
But wore the same of his ancient Race.
His Breeches were wide and open at the Knee,
And Gloves to wear never used He.
On his flowing Hair a cocked-up Hat,
A little black Cloak on his Shoulders sat.
With a little Priest's Band, and a Coat quite plain,
He walked, but never with Stick or Cane.
Sometimes He rode out in a Gig,
Open it was, and not very big.
His Head was gigantic, his Body too,
A Father and Shepherd for the learned crew.
He never was sick from the Time He was born,
Save that Heart-Burn sometimes his Breast did mourn.
He blew the Horn, and played the Crowd,
Pleasantly sang, and was never proud.
Hereby was He pleasing to Kings and Lords,
Courteous to all, used no insolent Words.
Court-Tricks and Forms He could not bear,
And with the Drunkards took no Share.
Now was He master, now Knave was He,
And though first up, last in Bed to be.
And when He had seen his seventieth Year,
He died, and was laid upon his Bier.
By Fear of Fortune never tried,
In cheerful Hope He lived and died."

ARTICLE V.

THE MORAL CONDITION OF NORTH AMERICA.

A Translation from "La Revue des Deux Mondes," June, 1839.

By the Junior Editor.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE following article, from the pen of M. Charles Sainte-Foi, was occasioned by a work of Dr. N. H. Julius, published at Leipsic, in 1839, which is generally considered in Germany one of the best books on the moral condition of this country.* Many of our readers will remember the visit of Dr. Julius to the United States, a few years ago; and some will revert, with pleasure, to a personal acquaintance with this candid and inquisitive traveller. His leading object was to examine our penitentiary system; but, during the three years which he spent with us, he devoted much of his time and attention to the moral aspect of our republic. He went back to the very beginning of our existence as a distinct and permanent people,—to the first settlement at Jamestown and the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth; and having found the germ of our institutions, he followed their growth and expansion down to the present time. Those who are at all familiar with foreign writers on this country, will perceive at once, that such a work, if faithfully executed, was greatly needed. Most of the books, which profess to discuss the intricate and peculiar relations of American society, are little else than rough and hasty sketches,—exceedingly imperfect, where they are not positively false. The philosophy of our institutions they have contemplated, always from an unfavorable, and frequently from a deceptive position. As to the success of Dr. Julius in executing his admirable plan, we cannot speak with confidence, as we have not been able to obtain his work. The observations of M. Sainte-Foi are evidently drawn, to a great extent, from the materials which were collected by the diligence of the German traveller; still, it would be unsafe to form an estimate of their value, from the use which is made of them by this writer.

Several considerations have induced us to give this article a place in our work. To many of its facts and principles we do not assent: against some, it will be seen, we enter a formal protest. The mistakes of the writer are mainly occasioned by prejudice and hasty generalization. The picture which he presents of the Catholics—their institutions, tolerance, etc.—indicate a strong bias in their favor. In some of

* The title of the work is *The Moral Condition of North America*, from personal observation during the years 1834—6. It was published by Brockhaus in two volumes.

his remarks upon the different colonies, and the present state of religion and education in the United States, his conclusions are too broad for his facts.—But some of his views, on the other hand, are equally just and profound. He has looked with candor and intelligence upon our singular position, and nobly vindicated us from much that is ignorantly and unjustly said against our peculiar institutions. His mistakes, moreover, are not without their interest. It is well for us to know how the prejudices of other nations affect the sentiments which are there formed concerning this young and rapidly growing republic. We obtain, in this way, a clearer view of the power of habit, education, and ancient and venerated usages. And we ought to receive, at the same time, a lesson of candor and charity in forming an estimate of the laws, customs, and institutions of the rest of the world; for it may be true, that a Frenchman's opinions of America are not much wider of the mark than ours respecting France.

There are several paragraphs in the original article which we have thought proper to omit. The writer has sometimes presented historical, statistical, and geographical statements, which are either contrary to fact, or well known in this country. His remarks on some other topics are of little interest or value to us; and in one or two instances, they are so strongly colored by his peculiar opinions, as to do injustice to those who are the subject of them. The *notes* are editorial.—EDITOR.

THE heads of the forty-one families, which composed this infant colony, laid the foundation of the constitution under which they wished to live. This constitution was very simple. Every member of the church became, of course, a member of the legislative assembly; and, that nothing might be wanting to make this new community a copy of the primitive church, it was resolved, that all property should be held in common. It was not till the experience of ten years had demonstrated the evils of this system, that the colonists were induced to abandon it. At the end of this period, they numbered only three hundred souls; but with the introduction of separate property, population advanced, and by means of the new recruits, constantly furnished by the persecutions which still continued in England, the settlements already begun were enlarged, and others were formed. Such was the origin of Massachusetts. The Jewish spirit and tendency which characterized the Puritans, displayed themselves in the constitution and subsequent history of this state. The restrictions imposed by the mother country were evaded, and her laws were exchanged for those of Moses. Their covenant with God became a memorial that they were a privileged and chosen people; the name of Salem, which they gave to their first settlement,* constantly reminded them of ancient Jerusalem; and, that nothing might be wanting to complete the analogy, these new Israelites bound themselves, by a solemn covenant, to exterminate the

* The writer has evidently confounded the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts. "The heads of the forty-one families" landed at Plymouth in 1620. The settlement at Salem was begun several years afterward.

idolatrous Pequods, whose proximity was alike disquieting and dangerous.*

Since that time, Massachusetts—and it is particularly true of Boston its capital—has continued the nest of Puritanism; and its subsequent history has only developed the peculiarities, whether good or bad, of this form of religion. The fear of God, a self-sacrificing spirit, an inflexible perseverance, a haughty and intolerant independence,—such were, and such are the characteristics of this state, and of all which have issued from it. Resistance to England began at Boston; the standard of an insurrection, which has introduced into history an element and a form before unknown, was first raised in that city. New Hampshire, with its agricultural population,—Vermont, with its villages happily located in the depths of the valleys, or on the sides of the hills, and inhabited, for the most part, by shepherds whose simple and patriarchal manners remind us of Switzerland,—Maine, founded to serve as a barrier to the encroachments of France and the Catholics,—these three states may be regarded as the satellites of Massachusetts. As in the latter state, no person, unless belonging to the denomination there recognised by law, could possess any

* M. Sainte-Foi has paid more attention to the rhetoric of this sentence than to its truth. The Pequods, who resided near the Thames in Connecticut, showed, from the first, a spirit of determined hostility toward the colonists. In 1633, they murdered the crew of a small vessel in Connecticut river. In 1634, they professedly desired an alliance with the whites, and their request was granted. In 1636 they murdered Oldham near Block Island. This outrage was punished by a military expedition; but, instead of being checked in their hostile intentions, they endeavored to enlist the Mohegans and Narragansetts in a general war against the colonies. It became manifest at length that a friendly intercourse was not to be expected; and repeated injuries and murders roused Connecticut to action. An expedition was sent against them in 1637, which was signally successful. From that day forward the Pequods ceased to be a distinct tribe. "A nation disappeared from the family of man." Bancroft's Hist. U. S., Vol. I. pp. 397—402.

If this were the time and the place, it would be easy to vindicate the policy of the first settlers of this country toward the Indians. To extend to these benighted men the blessings of civilization and Christianity was one of the objects which they had in view in their self-denying enterprise. "In pious sincerity they resolved, if possible, to redeem these wrecks of human nature; the colony seal was an Indian, erect, with an arrow in his right hand, and the motto—*Come over and help us.*" Bancroft's Hist. U. S., Vol. I. p. 346. A wonderful change was soon wrought in the intellectual and moral condition of the neighboring tribes. "In a short time a larger proportion of the Massachusetts Indians could" read and write "than recently of the inhabitants of Russia." "Churches were gathered," and "villages of praying Indians established." Bancroft's Hist. U. S., Vol. II. pp. 94, 97. This treatment was widely different from that which the Canaanites received, by divine command, from the Israelites.

political rights, the least disagreement in matters of religion caused an emigration. It was in this way that Connecticut and Rhode Island came into existence.*

The New England states are characterized by a physiognomy which is altogether peculiar. Though very limited as to territory, they have been, and still are the centre of the intellectual and religious movements of the whole union. It is here that the most books are printed; it is here that the schools are the best; it is hence that missionaries are sent forth by an enthusiastic zeal to the Indian tribes; and it is here, especially, that the *type* of the Yankee may be studied in its primitive purity;—that type which is so precise in its form, and so marked in its outlines. It is curious to follow the German element through its historical unfoldings and its successive transformations in England. At first, it is a simple fluid, vague and indeterminate; at the Norman conquest it mixes with the French element, and attains to a greater degree of consistency; later still, it becomes more and more refined and positive; till finally, it takes, in the Yankee of New England, a degree of firmness which borders on hardness and rigidity. At the point of its departure, the German character seems to be entirely concentrated in the imagination;—poetry is its exclusive form;—but once arrived at its ultimate development, we find nothing but a stern, inflexible will, which aims solely at the practical in life, and hastens to its ends unchecked by any obstacle.

The planting states on the Atlantic compose the second group of the United States; and what Massachusetts is to the first of these groups, Virginia has always been to this. The colonies of North America—soon, perhaps, to become one of the greatest empires that have ever existed—have this peculiarity, that we are able, in some sort, to mark their birth and watch their subsequent growth. Their history is generally comprised in that of some individual; his journal forms their annals, and it is to become, in the lapse of time, the authentic voucher of their origin. Here neither fables nor allegories, neither mysteries nor uncertainties perplex us. It is the truth, simple, unveiled and unadorned, that stands before us. What Winthrop has been to Massachusetts, Captain Smith is to Virginia. And, indeed, these are the two annalists of the Union. The story of the latter is so full of adventure, its incidents are so extraordinary, that the recital takes us back to the stirring tales of ancient Europe.

The peace concluded with Spain by James II., left without employment a large number of *gentlemen*, with whom war had become a trade. Not knowing what else to do, these poor chevaliers directed their course to the new world to seek their fortune. It was not an asylum from persecution which they asked, but *gold*. Encouraged by the success of the Spaniards and Portuguese, they desired to make themselves rich, and then return to England to enjoy their wealth. The result was such as might have been expected. Incapable of procuring even the necessities of life by their own labor, they must inevitably have fallen victims to famine,

* It is hardly necessary to remark that, in respect to Connecticut, this statement is untrue.

disease, and the hostility of the natives, if Providence had not sent thither Captain Smith,—a man who had spent his previous life in wandering over Europe, Asia and Africa, and had come to uphold this young but sinking enterprise. He obtained mechanics and laborers from England; the colonists, instructed by experience, renounced their idle and disorderly habits; their community of goods was abolished; and order at length succeeded to confusion. Such was the origin of Virginia, which was so called in honor of Elizabeth, the virgin queen. Aristocracy has always been a prominent feature in the history of this state. It was here that negroes were first sold by the Dutch, in 1620, and during the civil wars which subsequently harassed the mother country, Irish, Scotch, and English prisoners of war were transported to this colony, and made an article of traffic.

At an early day the intellectual condition of Virginia presented a striking contrast with that of Massachusetts. In 1671, Sir William Berkeley, then the governor, in his account of the state of the colony, wrote as follows: "I thank God there are no free schools nor printing; and I hope we shall not have these hundred years, for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them." In Virginia you will find but few villages and manufactories, and but few highways, canals and rail-roads. The characteristics of the English aristocracy are there preserved. The houses of the proprietors are built in the style of the 17th century, frequently with tiles imported from England. Around these are the numerous log cabins of the slaves, whose time is almost entirely occupied in the service of their masters. Nowhere else is the tone of society so elevated; nowhere else are the refinements and the elegancies of life so much cultivated. As business does not engross their whole time, much remains for leisure and study. Hence, education is more thorough and complete with them than where it has been more generally diffused; hence too, this state, which had one fifth of the population of the union down to the year 1800, has furnished to congress one sixth of its members; and from 1789 to 1825, the presidential chair was filled, with the exception of four years, by the citizens of no other state.

The aristocratic spirit of Virginia passed into the Carolinas,—particularly into South Carolina, which owes its origin mainly to the former. The territory of the two states was granted by Charles II. to eight English noblemen,* who thought they should greatly promote the prosperity of the colony, by obtaining a constitution from John Locke. This constitution transferred to the new world the institutions of Great Britain,—the feudal system, the law of entails, the parliament, the supremacy of the Episcopal

* This is not strictly true. The eight proprietaries were the Earl of Clarendon, the Duke of Albermarle, Lord Craven, Lord Ashley Cooper—afterward Earl of Shaftsbury, Lord John Berkeley, Sir William Berkeley, Sir John Colleton and Sir George Carteret. Bancroft, Hist. U. S., Vol. II. p. 129.

church and the trial by jury. It was abolished, however, twenty-four years after its introduction, at the unanimous request of the people.

The principal wealth of North Carolina consists in its gold-mines. A specimen of the ore, found accidentally in a brook by a boy who was catching fish, led to the discovery of the treasure which was hid in the soil. Unfortunately, the working of the mines, by drawing together a heterogeneous population whose leading characteristic is the unbridled love of gain, has been unfavorable to the morals of the state. Intemperance, licentiousness, gaming, and, indeed, all the vices which deprave the heart, have reached a frightful prevalence.

Georgia, the youngest of the planting states on the Atlantic, is the only settlement which was begun under the house of Hanover. This state was early distinguished by an inflexible sternness which has degenerated more than once into cruelty. Nothing can excuse its inhumanity toward the Cherokees,—the readiest, perhaps, of all the Indian tribes to receive the benefits of civilization and Christianity. The authority of the highest court of the Union, with its deliberate judgment in favor of the oppressed aborigines, has been insufficient to overcome the cupidity of the Georgians. In the territory which they coveted, gold had been found; it must become theirs, therefore, at whatever price; and hence, law has been powerless against them.

Maryland constitutes the third group in the union; and perhaps it may be said of this state, that its settlement was the most regular, and its moral results have been the most satisfactory. Sir George Calvert, secretary of state to James I., was obliged by his conversion to the Catholic faith, to leave a station which he had filled with zeal and fidelity. Having become Lord Baltimore through the kindness of the king, who wished to bestow upon him a signal mark of his esteem, he received as a fief the territory which lies north of the Potomac. Nothing can surpass the disinterestedness, the generosity and the wisdom which actuated this admirable man, in the plan of his colony, and the choice of its institutions. We cannot do better than to cite the honorable testimony of Bancroft, in his history of the United States. "He was the first in the history of the Christian world to seek for religious security and peace, by the practice of justice, and not by the exercise of power; to plan the establishment of popular institutions, with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience; to advance the career of civilization, by recognising the rightful equality of all Christian sects. The asylum of Papists was the spot, where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers which as yet had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the state." Lord Baltimore devoted more than £40,000 sterling to this enterprise; indeed, he gave to it the thought and the labor of his whole life.* His sons inherited his spirit, and

* The writer has confounded the first Lord Baltimore, with the second of the same name. The father died in April, 1632. The plan of the colony was his, and to him the passage from Bancroft refers; but the execution of the plan was reserved for the son. The patent of Ma-

pursued his policy. The most perfect harmony prevailed between the colonists and the natives. The latter instructed the former in the mysteries of the chase; while the Indian women taught their white sisters the art of making rice-bread.

But after the expulsion of James II., the constitution of Maryland was destroyed. Liberty of conscience, which the Catholics had proclaimed, was abolished, and the Quakers and themselves were involved in a common persecution. These changes were countenanced by the descendants of Lord Baltimore, who became members of the English church. The city of Baltimore preserves to this day some vestiges of the spirit in which it was founded. The schools erected by the Catholics, but open to all sects, attract the young in great numbers, by the superiority of the instruction there received. It was in this city that an association for the abolition of slavery was formed in 1789. A toleration more comprehensive and better understood, a deeper feeling of Christian charity have always been the distinctive traits of Maryland. Such is the power which is concentrated in the germ of human institutions; and so true it is, that in spite of obstacles, events will always unfold, more or less perfectly, the principles from which they have sprung.

William Penn—son of the admiral of the same name who conquered Jamaica under Cromwell—was struck with the austere simplicity of the Quakers, and felt himself irresistibly drawn to this sect, then recently founded by George Fox. His father was alarmed by the discovery of this inclination, and vainly supposed that foreign travel would so modify it, as to render it subservient to his plans. He counted much on a residence in France; the excessive gravity of his son, he thought, could not withstand the influence of the society in which he would there move, and of the examples which would constantly surround him. But nothing could shake the resolute determination of this young man. Transported by his zeal, he went so far as to preach in the streets and public places of London. For this he was dragged before a tribunal of justice; he was persecuted by the established church; and he was threatened by the bishop of London, with perpetual imprisonment. Still he remained immovable in his purpose; and finally, having overcome the repugnance of his father, he obtained the paternal blessing and inherited a large estate. Persuaded that he could never realize his wishes in England, he resolved to leave his native country, and seek in America a place in which to carry out the plans that he thought himself inspired of God to execute. Charles II. granted him, as a fief, the territory between Maryland and New Jersey, and called it Pennsylvania—doing violence to the modesty of Penn, who would have named it *Sylvania*. His justice secured the friendship of all the Indians in his vicinity; and long after his death they preserved the remembrance of his virtues. The city which was designed to become the

ryland, though drawn up during the life of the former, and even, it is supposed, by himself, was issued to the latter. He came to this country, and was the real founder of the colony. Bancroft, *Hist. United States*, Vol. II. pp. 241, 244.

centre of the social relations of the entire state, he named Philadelphia; for he expected it to bring together, as *brethren*, men of all sects and all countries. None were excluded from this fraternal union, except Jews and Catholics.

The leading aim of the constitution of this state was to absorb in religion all the energy of man, and to detach his thoughts from earth, by directing them to the coming world. Men of all sects flocked to this distant corner of the world, and found a secure asylum. The Quakers and Moravians,—drawn together by a community, or at least a resemblance of principles,—contributed most to the growth of the colony. Germany furnished a multitude of recruits; and in 1755, out of a population of 200,000, one half were Germans. But just in proportion to this increase, the defects of the constitution became apparent. Though well contrived, perhaps, for a small society with a common faith, it was unsuited to a larger community whose religion had become more complicated. Hence, when it became necessary, toward the middle of the last century, to take up arms to defend the country from the incursions of the French and Indians, all the Quakers in the legislature resigned their seats, to avoid the constrained approval, against their principles, of a war which circumstances made necessary. Soon after the death of Penn, a strong reaction set against his constitution; and the leader of this reaction was a man who is no less celebrated in Europe than in his own country. Benjamin Franklin, with a strong bias to the practical, aiming exclusively at objects which come within the notice of reason and the senses, labored with a zeal which more than once degenerated into prejudice and passion to undo what Penn had done, and to bring back to earth, and the happiness which men can here obtain, the thoughts and the efforts of his fellow-citizens; while Penn had directed them to the coming life, and to the happiness which virtue there secures.

The fifth group is composed of New-York, New Jersey and Delaware. The territory, which these states cover, was possessed at first by Hollanders and Swedes. The former were wonderfully sagacious in choosing the sites of their projected colonies. In this particular, they were like the Genoese of the middle ages, and the Phenicians of earlier times. The city of New-York, which they began by the name of Amsterdam, has since become the first place in the New World. The incredible activity of the North Americans, their fondness for travel, their craving for locomotion, their passion for trade, give to New-York a character which is altogether unique. It may be likened to an immense hotel, where thousands arrive and depart at every moment; or to a perpetual market, where all rush together and despatch their business, as if the opportunity could last but a few hours. Hence the population of this city advances without a parallel. From 1790 to 1830, it doubled once in twenty years, and in 1835, it had increased another third.—This group may be considered as the transition point between New England and the planting states. It holds in equilibrium the two extremities of the union; each of which will tend to draw the other to its sphere, till the western states

shall have become powerful enough to throw a new element into this wonderful and heterogeneous assemblage.

The eleven western states, which have been added to the Union since its separation from the mother country, constitute the two last groups. The population of the first of these is made up, for the most part, of colonists from New England; that of the second is constantly increased by emigrants from Virginia, Georgia and the Carolinas. The adventures of the fearless men, who have conquered this vast territory from Indians, and beasts of prey, and nature herself, form a story that is truly wonderful. In all history, there is not a single fact, perhaps, which so strikingly illustrates the capabilities of the body, the energy of the will, and the untold extent of those resources which are centred in the intelligence of man. The life of each of these adventurers is a complete romance; and the mind of the reader is surprised every instant, by incidents the most marvellous, attitudes the most extraordinary and impressions the most conflicting. But, though compelled to admire the perseverance, patience and courage of these apostles of modern civilization, we must pity the poor Indian, as he is forced from the soil on which he has lived, and driven farther and farther from the spot on which he was born; and it grieves us to find such admirable traits of character, in connection with so much injustice and cruelty.

The state of religion in the United States is that phenomenon, perhaps, which strikes a stranger as the most extraordinary, in a country where every thing is new, and every thing different from the usages and the experience which time has given to us. There every man must have a religion—we do not say that he must have *piety*—but he must take a name—he must attach himself to some religious association. Every one must have a creed, though that creed be atheism. We should naturally expect, that the feverish activity of men, who are so devoted to the most extensive and complicated business operations, would be completely absorbed in material interests, and that no leisure would remain for attention to the interests of heaven and eternity. But the fact is otherwise. The very men, who push their love of industry and their fondness for trade to a sort of passion, carry their devotion to their religious opinions to enthusiasm. In the opinion of almost all who have visited America, their zeal for religion is owing to the perfect separation which there prevails between church and state. The greater the indifference of the state to the interests of Christianity, the greater is the solicitude of individuals. Their scruples on this point are carried so far, that they see with pain, and tolerate with regret the bequests and the donations which are bestowed on their churches. The gift, it is contended, by making the church which receives it independent of its members, diminishes their zeal and that of their pastor; and experience has given general currency to the opinion, that a tax, imposed on each believer for the support of religion, is better for the church and better for himself than a permanent, inalienable income.

This separation of church and state is the more remarkable, from its

gradual introduction into a history, which began with a theocracy. The constitution of the first pilgrims who landed in Massachusetts was purely theocratic, both in its form and its principles; inasmuch as the title of citizen was inseparable from that of church member. It was not till 1833 that this state destroyed the last vestige of the original element, by abolishing the ecclesiastical tax—to which public opinion had long been opposed—and by relinquishing to each church or parish the exclusive management of its concerns.

If it is proper to judge of the value of this separation of church and state by its results, the decision must be very favorable. In New England especially, whence has issued the social and historical development of the union, the effect is truly wonderful. The sects which exhibit the most zeal and ardor are the Congregationalists, the Presbyterians, the Baptists and the Methodists. The principal means, which they employ to keep alive or resuscitate the piety of Christians, are revivals, protracted meetings, camp meetings and religious associations. Whenever the zeal of a congregation has become lukewarm, or whenever certain vices threaten, by their flagrancy, to lower the standard of morality, Christians meet and consult as to the best measures for rousing the spirit of devotion in those who have permitted it to slumber; and having prayed together, each constitutes himself a missionary to impart to others the sentiments which animate his own breast. The spark communicates; the fire spreads; preachers, distinguished for their piety, come to fan the flame, and soon it becomes a vast conflagration. In this state of things, the ministers and devout laymen frequently make arrangements for a protracted meeting—i. e. for religious services of several days continuance—which are intended to put the finishing blow to the work already begun. These meetings sometimes continue fifteen days; and during this period, Christians pass from praying to singing, from singing to preaching, and from preaching to the anxious bench (*banc d'angoisse*),—a degenerate and dangerous imitation of the confession. The results which follow these revivals are often salutary; and the evils which grow out of them would be much fewer if the preachers were more prudent.

But here I must frankly avow my dislike of the levity with which Mrs. Trollope, in her work on America, treats the religious ceremonies and institutions of the different sects in the United States. All these things are very serious in their nature; they relate to the gravest interests of life, and shape the deepest feelings of the human heart. Undoubtedly we may disapprove, nay, we may be indignant; but pleasantry is entirely unsuited to such themes, nor is it becoming, in a serious writer, to excite the laughter of the reader at the expense of others. Mrs. Trollope was under the greater obligation to be indulgent from the fact, that her opinions are mostly an affair of patriotism, and she never condemns the institutions of America, except to exalt those of her own country.—Besides, she should have remembered, that the Americans, in respect to every thing which pertains to religion, have only developed the form which they carried from England, and that, as to many things which seem to her so ridiculous or censurable, her own country has nothing to boast over

the United States. With her, I condemn the abuses which she mentions, because of the dangers to which the victims are exposed.

Revivalists, very frequently, are young and inexperienced; hence they endeavor to produce transient impressions rather than abiding sentiments, and operate upon the imagination more than the will. The aim of all their discourses is to bring to the anxious seat multitudes, whose tears and groans, and, occasionally, frightful convulsions bear witness to their power. It is among young and ardent females that these phenomena are most frequently seen. They go so far as to confess their sins in public, and send up to heaven their mingled sobs and supplications. Sometimes, indeed, unable to sustain the intensity of their feelings, struggling with irrepressible emotions, they fall and roll upon the ground, while the preacher murmurs in the ear words of peace and consolation, and all who are present thank God for this fresh display of his mercy.

These effects are frequently produced at camp meetings—sometimes for weeks together. It is easy to imagine the impression which must be made on young and excitable minds, as some eloquent preacher, after a day spent in meditation and prayer, paints, in terrific colors, the judgments of God. It is not strange,—beneath these venerable canopies, formed by the thick foliage and the intertwining branches of an ancient forest, through which the rays of the moon, from time to time, pierce their way,—by the light of the fires, which, burning at short intervals, cast a sombre hue on every thing which they illumine,—at the sound of the hymns, now joyous and now plaintive, which are borne upward in the depth and stillness of the night,—it is not strange that the language and the thoughts receive their coloring from surrounding objects; it is not strange that women sometimes leave these religious services, completely exhausted, if not hopelessly deranged.*

Religious associations, perhaps, are the most efficient means to keep alive the spirit of piety in America. The Catholic church, which takes no part in the revivals and camp meetings we have just described, and whose quiet, dignified and solemn march is singularly contrasted with the hasty and noisy development of most Protestant sects, has founded many institutions which are sustained by the charity of the pious, and are all remarkable for their tolerant character. Indeed, the number of Catholic children in these schools is always much less than that of Protestant pupils. Liberty of conscience is better understood and more respected there than elsewhere; and the instruction which they furnish is ordinarily superior to that of other schools.† The Catholic church in the United

* In this account of revivals, protracted meetings, etc., we have an instance of that hasty generalization, to which allusion was made in the Introductory Note. "The abuses" here described are the exception, and not the general rule. Indeed, except in the thinly settled portions of the United States, they are confined almost entirely to one denomination.

† The information contained in this statement, in both particulars,

States has one archbishop, 14 bishops, 300 priests, 143 stations, 13 seminaries, 14 schools for boys, 39 for girls,—both of which are open to children of different sects,—37 benevolent institutions managed by the sisters of charity, 23 convents, the occupants of which generally devote themselves to the business of education.

It would be difficult to enumerate the sects which have sprung up in the United States, or characterize the shades of belief which distinguish them,—shades which are sometimes so faint that the most practised eye cannot perceive them. The whole difference between two denominations frequently grows out of the different interpretation of a single verse or even word of Scripture. Some of these sects have admitted into their system a community of goods. The Moravians belong to this class; and also the Shakers (Sauteurs),—whose worship consists in a sort of dance, after the fatigue and exhaustion of which they receive, as the inspiration of the Spirit, every impression which is made on their minds. Robert Owen,—whose system is a compound of atheism, phrenology and fatalism, and whose morality centres solely in the pursuit of happiness,—the same individual who caused so much excitement in London some years ago, and who has labored to make proselytes even among us,—established a society in the United States, in which he hoped to realize his chimerical designs; but, under his management, or, rather, that of his son, it has proved a failure. In a country,—which all sects seem to have made their rendezvous, and in which human thought naturally takes the *form* of religion, however irreligious it may be in other respects, as to its principles, its tendencies or its aims,—atheism itself must be clothed in a formula of doctrine.

Next to religion, that which exerts the greatest influence on the moral and spiritual condition of a people, and that which does the most to determine its character is education. In this particular, as in so many others, the United States are strikingly contrasted with most European countries, for, of all the pursuits of life, none, perhaps, is so powerfully affected by circumstances. It were natural to expect, indeed, that a people who have no antiquity, who are still at the very commencement of their history, and whose undivided energy must, of necessity, be directed to the future, would place their system of education on a different basis, and shape it to different ends from those recognised and approved by the nations of Europe. We have received from the past a history which is already made, recollections which are mighty, forms which are more or less inevitable, and impulses from which it is impossible wholly to escape. Here, there is a wide field for the speculative and æsthetic part of education, as it stands connected with the memory, the imagination and the heart; there, instruction must be shaped to an end which is wholly practical, and one so near, that a man has only to put forth his hand to reach it. And hence, to reproach the Americans with that which is a necessary

will be new, we presume, to most of our readers. It is difficult to conceive how liberty of conscience can be more respected, than it is in the Protestant schools of this country.

result of their present condition is in the highest degree unjust. If education, with them as with us, were mainly designed to form the taste and develop the perception of the beautiful, it would be generally useless and often dangerous; for the perfection of education consists in its harmony with the social wants of the people; and if, instead of moving forward to this end, it takes a contrary course, it becomes a fatal hinderance to their improvement. So long as the Americans shall have before them an immense territory to possess, forests which are the growth of ages to fell, marshes to drain, roads and canals to construct, their schools and academies must remain what they are; and they ought to form the taste of their children, rather to appreciate the useful, than to love that which serves only to adorn and embellish life. First in order is the necessary, then the useful, and last of all that which is pleasing.

Many travellers, who have visited the United States, have complained with a sort of bitterness of what they call the rudeness and coarseness of the Americans: the women particularly are unmerciful on this point. Mrs. Trollope is constantly recurring to this theme, and having resolved beforehand to admire nothing which should not remind her of the institutions and customs of England, it is not surprising that she has been so sparing of her praise, and so prodigal of her censure. But if any one is desirous to understand the actual condition of North America, I would advise him not to rely on the opinions, or rather the impressions of female travellers. Women have a wonderful tact at seizing the shades which play upon the surface of society: in respect to manners and habits their decisions are very correct; but when they come to the institutions and laws of a people they are liable to strange mistakes. Such things have nothing of the absolute or unchangeable about them; they are good or bad according to their relation to the *function* of a people and to the duties which necessity imposes on them. Elegant manners are not indispensable to fell a tree, build a board-house, lay out a rail-road or construct a steam-boat. But the time will come when the Americans will be able to mingle the pleasant with the useful in the education of their children. Till then I advise them to adhere to their present plan, and to prefer Papin to Homer—the study of the exact sciences to literature and poetry.

The instruction which is given in the United States is not so remarkable for its depth as its extent. The programme of what is taught in their schools to boys and even to girls is much more comprehensive than it is with us; and the effort to spread intelligence over as broad a surface as possible seems to be constantly on the increase. But that which is here useless or dangerous is there necessary; for in America, the end of education should be to enable a man to dispense with the aid of others, and take care of himself in the different circumstances in which he may be placed. The young man who has learned a little of every thing at school, having arrived at the age of twenty-one, leaves the paternal roof, perhaps, and goes far away from the family circle to establish himself in the vast, unoccupied regions of the west. He must of necessity commit the success of his enterprise to his own energy, he must become his own mason,

carpenter, joiner, etc., until he shall have gathered around him other men, who have resolved, like himself, to seek their fortune. Universal instruction then in the United States—universal, both in respect to the persons and the branches taught,—is and must long continue to be a matter of necessity. Every one must know enough to meet the exigencies of life; and these are more numerous in that new country than elsewhere. In most European nations, a few men of genius, who collect and concentrate a large amount of science, are more useful than a greater number, who know a little of every thing, but who have cultivated no one branch so as to be qualified to extend and improve it. The necessary is ours already, and we have only to perfect what we have. But the Americans are obliged to create what they have not. Development is our province, and it is to this end that our instruction should be directed. Acquisition and production—this is the proper aim of life and society in the United States. It is not surprising, therefore, that they should endeavor to qualify the citizen to acquire and produce that which is necessary or useful.

This principle—good in itself—the Americans may have carried too far. It is easy to go beyond a point, to gain which every nerve is strained; and it is also easy to magnify the things which are necessary. But is it becoming in us, who have so exalted the æsthetic part of education, and who bring up our children, as if it were to be their sole employment to refresh the imagination at the fountains of poetry and beauty,—us, who give to our offspring, almost of necessity, a distaste for labor—doing every thing in our power to divorce them from it—and who excite even from infancy their ambition and their vanity, by a course of instruction which leads to no practical end, and which frequently becomes a useless and dangerous burden,—is it becoming in us to heap reproaches upon them?

Opinions the most conflicting have been expressed concerning the degree and extent of the instruction given in the United States. This diversity has arisen from the circumstance, that the different states which constitute the union have not been kept sufficiently distinct, and the facts which have been collected in some have been applied to all. As each state is independent in respect to its domestic administration, it is easy to see that the various systems of instruction adopted in each must be more or less complete according to the encouragement which they receive. The New England states, which have been the seed stone as it were of all the rest, present in this particular, as in so many others, the most satisfactory results.

Two things in particular are wanting in America, the absence of which is a necessary hinderance to the perfection of education. There is no deficiency of *normal schools* in the United States; still they have paid too little attention to this important branch of instruction. As to the higher institutions of learning they have nothing to be compared—I will not say with the universities of Germany, the excellency of which has been attained nowhere else—but not even with our academies, though very defective and greatly needing amendment. It is true that the want of these institutions is not felt so severely in that country, from the fact,

that the love of equality is carried so far, that the richer citizens cannot give to their children a thorough and finished education, without exciting feelings of jealousy and displeasure. Such is the prevailing horror of an aristocracy, that every one who attempts to excel others is looked upon with an evil eye. Hence the complaints and attacks which are renewed every year in Congress against the military school at West Point, and which render its continuance—though it is the only one of the kind in the United States—more and more uncertain. Hitherto its results have been most satisfactory. The officers who have been educated there are all superior men, not only in respect to their military habits, but also in respect to their mental and moral culture. Their only offence is their knowing more than others, and their constituting, by the nature of their studies and their profession, a distinct class, and presenting, for the same reason, a marked contrast with the intellectual habits of the people.

Still, in view of the peculiar circumstances of the United States, I appreciate and dare not blame this tendency of public opinion. Indeed, it appears to me to be right, both in its principle and its aim. The first thing to be attended to is to raise up men who can apply themselves to that which is necessary; and so long as there shall be a wilderness before and around them to be occupied, institutions without number to be founded, it will be their duty in every way to develope the feeling of personality in every citizen. I know how easy and how dangerous it is to carry this sentiment too far. I know, too, that if it shall become an abiding element in the character of the people, it will prove, after a change of circumstances shall have dispensed with its necessity, the source of great evils, and finally degenerate into a narrow egoism. But what is there which has not been abused? The excellency of every thing human is to be tested by its fitness to the end for which it was made, or to the circumstances which have called it into being. Take away this end or these circumstances, and that which was good and perhaps necessary before becomes at once useless and dangerous.

I am less ready to make allowance for the imperfection of their normal schools, because they are sustained by a people whose instruction ought to be universal, and whose citizens, one and all, ought to be qualified to grapple with the thousand unforeseen contingencies which may spring up along their path. In some states the evil has become so great that the legislature has been obliged to interfere. In New-York, it has been necessary to fix the minimum monthly compensation of male teachers at fifteen dollars, and that of female teachers at ten: but this minimum is so low that it hardly equals the wages of the most unskilful mechanic. In this way, the profession of teaching becomes a sort of trade without dignity and without respect; and every town, by an inexcusable parsimony, seeks in the instructor whom it employs, a low price rather than high qualifications.

For a considerable time manual labor schools were very popular in the United States. But the Americans were not slow to discover the evils of a system, which, by dividing the attention of the student, prevented his attaining to perfection, both in the department of labor, and in that

of study: and hence the enthusiasm which once prevailed in favor of these schools has sensibly diminished. But the happy results of schools established in manufactories have convinced all parties, how much good they are fitted to accomplish, by acquainting the operatives with the nature of their trade and employment. In this way one of the greatest evils of factories—that of accustoming the workmen to a certain mechanical routine, thereby blunting attention and thought, and, to some extent, materializing their labor—is completely obviated. By means of these schools, theory is made to accompany practice; and the artisan learns the reason of what he does. Morality also is the gainer; for nothing nourishes vice so readily as intellectual indolence. Every thing which stupifies the mind fortifies the body in its propensity to evil: every thing which elevates the former restrains and weakens the passions and instincts of the latter. The factories of Lowell, Massachusetts, present in this particular the most satisfactory results. Eight thousand girls are there employed all the year; and it is seldom that a transient excess breaks in, as a melancholy contrast, upon the regularity and piety of that laboring community. Schools have also been established for the young girls, who are allowed to spend in study one fourth of the time allotted to labor.

Sunday schools,—whose origin goes back to the 16th century,—at which time the Catholics introduced them into the Low Country,—were first known in the United States in 1781.* The Sunday School Society was formed in 1824; and in 1834, with an income of 76,000 dollars, it sustained 2,154 schools with 24,034 teachers and 169,448 pupils.

The progress of civilization in America as in Europe is from east to west, and from north to south. The first sign of its approach appears among the animals. They perceive and forebode its coming as surely as they do the tempest which is gathering in the air. The bison emigrates and disappears: already has this animal deserted the country east of the Mississippi. This is the first sign. Soon the buzzing of the bee is heard; and this is the second sign. The Indian doubts no longer. He knows that the civilized man is near. He does not

* That children were taught on the Sabbath as early as the 16th century,—sometimes by the Catholics, but far more frequently by Protestants,—there can be no doubt. But the present system of Sunday school instruction was introduced into England by Robert Raikes, in 1781. The first organized effort to extend the benefits of this system to the United States was made at Philadelphia, in 1791. The first school was opened Feb. 1st, with 40 female pupils, and one teacher,—who received, for instruction and room-rent, \$80 a year. Other schools soon followed. A regular society, to support Sabbath schools, was organized in that city, July 11th. Forty or fifty years before that time, a common-school teacher, in Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, projected a school to impart instruction to indigent children, who were kept from the daily school by labor, as well as to give religious instruction to children in better circumstances. After the battle of Brandywine, the room occupied for this purpose was taken for a hospital, and the school was never re-opened. *Teacher Taught*, pp. 22, 23.

tarry, for he understands the destiny that awaits him. He submits to his fate, and, binding his cabin and his idols to his back, he plunges deeper still into the wilderness, to seek a place of refuge and security. After he has gone, two or three white men make their appearance, and erect a miserable shelter for their families. They fell the trees around them and clear the land, and as soon as their little settlement begins to prosper, they dispose of it to some of their less enterprising countrymen and push forward to establish themselves anew, and then sell out again to those who follow them. Soon the struggle with the red man begins; they attack each other in light skirmishes awhile; and a treaty closes the scene. It is thus that the American awaits his victim. Trading companies—formed for this execrable purpose—buy the furs of the Indians, and give in exchange the poison which first corrupts and then destroys. In vain do they endeavor to fortify themselves against the dreadful effects of ardent spirits, through fear of the calamities which threaten them. It is sold at so low a price and in such abundance, that they cannot withstand the temptation. White men, having begun to brutalize them, gain their chiefs, reward the treason, and then, in virtue of treaties fraudulently obtained, chase them away,—promising at the same time never to molest them in the territory which they still retain. But a bitter experience has taught them too plainly, that they can place but little confidence in these assurances, or in the treaties which contain and sanction them.

The Catholic missionaries have always pursued a different policy. At their peaceful missions in Canada, these apostles of Christian civilization suffer no taverns to be kept in the villages which are inhabited by Indian converts. Is it surprising then, that the name of the French is still held in veneration among these poor tribes, and that the Indian loves to speak our language, while he frequently pretends to be ignorant of the English, because it has become so odious to him? The English destroy the aborigines; the French intermarry with them. By this union a population is formed, remarkable for its enterprise, and its rare combination of the most valuable qualities.

The conduct of the Americans will appear the more barbarous, from the consideration, that the tribes which they have successively overtaken, were, of all red men, the most inclined to receive the benefits of civilization, while most of the tribes which the Catholics have found have been much more backward. And yet there has been in one case admixture and amalgamation; in the other degradation and ruin. The Jesuit missionaries of Paraguay, after having converted the savages of that country into men, have formed a people so admirable in their character, that by the confession of the whole world, there has never been a more perfect society under heaven. I mention these facts, because they prove the superiority of Christian civilization to the worldly and interested civilization of the Americans,* and also because they do honor to the family of na-

* Much of the treatment which the Indians have received from the white man is incapable of vindication. They have been wronged—cruelly and grossly wronged. Charges, almost without number, can be

tions to which we belong,—particularly to the French, who have done so much for the social development of these tribes.

ARTICLE VI.

ICELANDIC LITERATURE: TRANSLATIONS, WITH INTRODUCTORY NOTES.

By Elihu Burritt, Worcester, Mass.

THE idea of an Icelandic Literature proposes a fact as remarkable as the settlement itself of that inhospitable island. And it is not its least interesting feature, that it has not drawn its essential elements from facts of common history, but that it presents us the only medium of acquaintance with the history of a portion of the human race peculiarly excluded from any active participation in the movements of the rest of the world. The first settlers of Iceland, actuated equally by a heroic spirit of adventure, and an ardent aspiration for more unrestricted freedom, had ventured onward upon an uncharted ocean, until, almost upon the border of the New World, the flaming summit of Heckla revealed to them a home and an asylum beyond the reach of the despot and the cupidity of the conqueror. There, under the shadow of mountains that lifted their everlasting bulwarks of ice against the sky, or set the clouds on fire with their volcanic flames, these hardy adventurers found herbage sufficient for their herds, which soon became their principal means of subsistence. Although they thus enjoyed all the peace and simplicity of the pastoral life, the natural

brought against us—impeaching our honor and our honesty—affirming our injustice, fraud, covenant-breaking, oppression and rapine, to which the only plea is—*guilty*. Still, the reviewer, when speaking of the labors of the *Catholics* among the aborigines of this country, should have remembered the missionaries from New England, who “are sent forth by an enthusiastic zeal to the Indian tribes.” They too are decidedly opposed to the introduction of taverns among their converts; the civilization which they endeavor to promote is a truly Christian civilization; and if they are not supposed to have produced, like the Jesuits in Paraguay, a state of society, than which there is nothing “more perfect” “under heaven,” perhaps it is because they have been too modest or too honest to advance the extravagant pretension. And we wish that the faithful annalist of Catholic missions could say—not that they have uniformly prevented—but that they have never occasioned the introduction of alcohol into countries where they have professed to carry the gospel of peace. But the recent history of the Sandwich Islands proves conclusively, that “these apostles of Christian civilization” are not always opposed to the spread of that “poison which first corrupts and then destroys.”

peculiarities of the country precluded the wandering character of the Nomades. The island was so intersected with morasses and icebergs, that the shepherd was often necessarily merged in the agriculturist, and his crook converted into the mattock or spade, as it became requisite to reclaim and fertilize his meadow-land and pasturage. Continual accessions of new adventurers from the mother country, disseminated a multitude of little communities over the habitable parts of the island; each represented by its chief in the councils of their rude republic, which they had immediately instituted, to regulate the conditions of their civil life and social intercourse.

Thus shut out from the stormy theatre of the great world; scattered over one of the most inhospitable islands on the globe; separated into little colonies by intervening barriers which seemed to have remained there from the birth of time; obliged to economize and improve the meager provisions which nature had there made for the sustenance of man and beast; it were natural to suppose, that under such circumstances, they would soon have depreciated from the warlike character and the indomitable spirit of adventure, which so distinguished the northern hordes of Europe. But such was not the case. The Icelanders, from the very nature of their civil and social institutions, perpetuated, in more than primeval vigor, the marked characteristics of their ancestors. And all the fire of patriotism and of freedom, and the chivalric energy of a heroic age, as if fed at the crater of Heckla, or rekindled in the nightly fires of their own polar sky, glowed and burned on among their icebergs, when they seemed to have gone out for ever in the fatherland.

Each of their little communities maintained the character, and, almost literally, the connection of a single family. The Scandinavian patriarch, who presided at their head, still felt the blood of a long succession of heroes stirring in his veins. The feats of his youth and manhood and the prowess of his ancestors were recited and sung beneath a common roof or in the convivial hall, till hearts caught fire at the tale. From another seat at the rustic board or fireside, another, whose head was frosted with fewer winters, spoke of wars beyond the seas,—of the bended bow,—and the braying trumpet,—of fields fought, won or lost; of encounter

“In angry parlance with the sledded Pole,”

with the tartaned Scot, or the steel-clad Southron.

Then there were those that told of journeyings in lands close under the sun; where perennial verdure clad both hill and dale, where no snows fell nor sleet, nor any biting breath from icy wastes passed by; but where all was soft and serene; where the air that had tasted of the honey of delicious fruits, and dallied with an Eden full of flowers, breathed on the cheek and fanned the brow. Another took up a tale of hair-breadth 'scapes among dark Norse mountains, which the sun scarcely ever looked at; of leaps “o’er precipices huge, smoothed up with snow;” of great fiery eyeballs of howling wolves, peering out of deep, dark caverns, and deadly clutches with the northern bear. Next came those who could tell of perils hard upon the breaking gulf; of broken ruddered vessels tossed upon the billows of the northern seas, or dashed among the icebergs, or

upon the ice-girdled rocks of some desert island; of 'ventures among the Orkneys, the Faroe islands, and along the coasts of Scotland.

Such were the winter-evening entertainments of each of those little Icelandic communities of which we have spoken; nor could they have failed to lay the foundation of their peculiar national character and literature. They inspired a hankering for deeds of daring and hardy enterprise, and the bark of the Icelfander was often seen dancing over the waters of the Northern Ocean, in quest of some adventure which should transmit his name and renown to posterity in story or in song. In almost every kingdom of Europe, these erratic knights of the frigid zone distinguished themselves in stations of honor and trust. And when, laden with the munificent rewards of their valor and virtue, they again turned their prows towards their storm-beaten eyry amid the far frosty waves, their arrival was hailed as a matter of national interest; and the history of their adventures, interspersed with brief notices of many of the leading events of their time, was incorporated into the archives of the nation, and furnished material for their *sagas*, and a new theme for their bards.

Their favorite element, like that of the ancient Greeks, was the sea; and many important discoveries early repaid their adventures upon its bosom. The outposts and suburbs of a New World were first revealed to these early navigators from the Ultima Thule of the Old. The discovery of Greenland,—thus called, as the Icelandic historian so *naively* affirms, that it might more readily decoy thither colonists from a land of snow and ice—furnished them a rendezvous and starting point for a more extended chain of discoveries along the coast of the new continent. These were what might be called the Argonautic expeditions of the Icelanders; fraught to them with thrilling interest in all their details, which are preserved in their histories, apparently with the minutest accuracy.

Such were the sources of that important and interesting department of Icelandic literature, their *sagas*, or narratives of the lives and adventures of their most distinguished men; of which we propose to subjoin a few specimens. The learned societies of Northern Europe have recently collated, with the greatest care, the Icelandic MSS. which contain these *sagas*; and it is from their periodical memoirs upon this and other kinds of Icelandic literature, that we have selected the story of Nial and others contemporary with him. Nial's narrative is contained in the Sagabibliothek of Peter Erasmus Muller, Dr. and Prof. of Theology in the University at Copenhagen. We have chosen it as giving a somewhat general *coup-d'œil* of ancient Icelandic life and customs. Although there is a simplicity in the original language and style of these *sagas*, which can hardly be transferred to an English version, yet, we trust that, in the few pages of Nial's history, the reader will discover an interesting variety of incidents and actors; which, though drawn with a few rough strokes of the pencil, still develope to the life many of the strongest lineaments of human character. The date of the story reaches back to the beginning of the eleventh century. It begins with a notice by Hauptman Rut of the unfortunate beauty of his niece Halgerda.

NIAL'S SAGA.

Translated from the Danish edition, in Prof. Muller's Sagabibliothek.

Rut went over to Norway, where he won the love of Gunhilde, the mother of king Harald Graafeld. After his return to Iceland, he married a rich young woman, who, in a short time, demanded to be divorced from him. He desired to retain her dowry; but was compelled at law by Gunnar of Hlidarenda, a very distinguished man, to restore the whole of it. Gunnar went afterwards to Viking, and on his return, visited Harald Gormson and Hakon Jarl. At the same time, Halgerda, the most beautiful woman in Iceland, had been twice married, and both times suspected of having caused the death of her husband. Gunnar saw her at the General Assizes and married her, to the great regret of his old friend and neighbor, the sage Nial. At the feast there arose a dispute about rank between Halgerda and Nial's wife, Bergthora. Halgerda, determined to pick a quarrel, caused one of Nial's men to be killed. Bergthora urged her sons to revenge it, and thus these assassinations were continued. Gunnar and Nial always paid the appointed fines, and still continued to remain mutual friends.

But Halgerda now embroiled the generous Gunnar in a new contention. He had once given her a box upon the ear for one of her evil actions; but he was obliged to prove what she did, and it finally eventuated in his being sentenced to banishment with his brother for two years. As they rode away from the court of his mansion, Gunnar's horse stumbled under him, which occasioned him to look back. "Never," exclaimed he, "did this place appear to me more lovely. The fields are so yellow, and the meadows so fertile, I must ride back, for I cannot go away." In vain his brother represented how dangerous it would be for him to stay in the land: he still determined to remain.

Soon afterwards, his enemies discovered that he was at home alone, having sent his men out to make hay. They thereupon surrounded his house early one morning. Gunnar, who with his wife and mother was lying in one end of the house, awoke while they were killing his three dogs, and quickly seizing his bow, he held his enemies so long at a distance, that they finally began to think of retreating. But when Gunnar, to shame them, took one of the clubs which they had sent at him, and, against his mother's advice, hurled it back upon them, they concluded he had expended his stock of arrows, and again returned to the attack. Gunnar's bowstring having been cut in two, he besought his wife for one of the long tresses of her hair, that his mother might twist him a string of it. "Is it of importance to you?" she asked. "My life depends upon it," said he. "Then I will now pay you," replied Halgerda, "for that box upon my ear, nor trouble myself about how long you may be able to defend yourself." To this Gunnar only replied: "Each seeks honor in his own way; I will no longer ask it of you."—He now defended himself until he fell from weakness. Many poets composed songs in honor of his gallant defence. Nial's son Skarphedin revenged his death.

Nial's sons, a short time after this, sailed from Iceland. Passing along the coast of Scotland, they were nearly overpowered by the friends of King Malcolf, when Carl Salmundsen, from the Syderoerne, came up and rescued them. They went thereupon to Sigurd Jarl in the Orkneys, and followed him on his cruise. After the lapse of two years, they all sailed to Norway. While they lay in the bay of Drontheim, it happened that an Icelfander named Hrapp—who had abducted a daughter of Dale Gudbrand a friend of Hakon Jarl, and afterwards, when he was declared an outlaw, had, to revenge himself, plundered Jarl's idols and burned his temple—took refuge on board of the Icelandic ships in the bay, and succeeded in effecting his escape, in the vessel of one Thrain. Jarl, irritated at the escape of Hrapp, seized Nial's sons, whom he believed to have been accessory to his flight, and took them to prison after a brave resistance. During the night they effected their escape to the sea-shore, where Carl had landed, and the latter, having brought tax-money with him from the Orkneys, procured a reconciliation between them and Hakon Jarl, especially through the intercession of his son Erik. Nial's sons and Carl, after sailing for some time on a cruise, returned home to Iceland, where Carl married one of Nial's daughters.

Thrain was cited by Nial's sons to remunerate them for all the damage which he had caused them with Hakon Jarl; and when, incited by Hrapp and Halgerda—who had become intimate with each other—he even insulted Nial's sons, they killed him. Nial settled the matter, paid a full fine, and took to himself Thrain's son Hoskuld to bring up. When he had become of age, and conceived a passion for Hildigunna, a highminded woman who would not marry any one but a judge, and that office not being to be had at that time, Nial caused a fifth tribunal to be established, and Hoskuld obtained his wish.

A subtle man by the name of Mord Valgerdsen was displeased at this innovation, and being one of the most powerful men in the country, he stirred up such a dissension between Hoskuld and Nial's sons, that the former was killed by the latter. Hildigunna adjured her uncle Flose in the most solemn manner to avenge the bloody death of Hoskuld, throwing at the same time her husband's blood-soiled garments upon his shoulders. Flose instituted a suit against Nial's sons, and by the intervention of influential men, Nial was finally sentenced to pay a triple fine, or 600 pieces of silver. This was a very great sum, and was raised by contribution among Nial's friends. While the money was being counted out, Flose let fall some injurious words against the old Nial; Skarphedin answered him indignantly, whereupon Flose declared the compact broken.

Some time afterwards, he surrounded Nial's mansion with a hundred men, and set fire to it. The women, children and domestics received permission to leave the house. Flose afterwards stepped to the door and told the old Nial that he also might go out with his wife. "I will not go," answered he; "for I am an old man, and poorly fitted to avenge my sons, and I will not live in shame." Then said Flose to Bergthora; "Go out, woman! for I would not have you burnt within by any means."

"When I was young," replied she, "I married Nial; I promised them, therefore, that we would share one fate." "They may carry you out," said she to Carl's little son, "for you must not be burnt." "You promised me, grandmother," replied the little boy, "that we should never be separated so long as I wished to live with you, and I think it much better to die with you and Nial, than to live after you are gone." The two old people then went to their bed, and laid down with the boy between them until the fire consumed them. Their son-in-law Carl was the only one that escaped through the smoke of the burning house. Indefatigable in seeking legal redress, Carl now went around from one magistrate to another, and finally succeeded in having his powerful enemies cited at court. But, after many advocates had been employed on each side—the case being finally called up for decision—the indictment was rejected on the ground of some informality: they then fought with each other before the judgment seat.

Some of the principal men, in the mean time, effected a stipulation, by which great fines were to be paid, and all the incendiaries to be banished and outlawed; but Flose only for three years. Carl was not satisfied with this. He coursed up and down through the region where his enemies lived, and killed twenty of them, from one time to another; partly alone and partly in company with a man called Biorn, who was encouraged to assist Carl by his wife, and who, besides, notwithstanding his cowardice, would willingly have the name of being brave. Carl searched especially after Flose, but he succeeded in getting away. Carl then sailed for the Orkneys; for he had heard that Flose had been driven thither by a storm, and that Sigurd Jarl, in the first place, had caused him to be imprisoned, as one who had caused the death of Nial's sons, two of whom had been in Jarl's service; but that Flose, after much intercession, had been taken into favor by Jarl, and had become his lieutenant. Carl, who was well acquainted with the coast, stole into the court of Jarl's house, just as one of Flose's followers, sitting in the midst of a large collection, was telling the story of burning Nial, in a very mortifying way for a friend of the latter. Carl sprang in and slew the narrator. Jarl commanded him to be seized; but as Carl had been in Jarl's house, where all were pleased with him, none would touch him. Carl affirming that it was the death of his own leader that he had avenged, and Flose acknowledging that he had sufficient grounds for the deed, Jarl let him go unharmed.

A part of Flose's men fell with Sigurd Jarl in Brian's battle in Ireland. Flose himself sailed for England, whither Carl also pursued him, and slew one of the incendiaries. Flose then sailed to Italy, and went to Rome to obtain absolution from the Pope's own hand; returning home after the lapse of three years. Carl also wandered through France to Rome to get absolved by the Pope, after which he sailed for home.

He was shipwrecked on the coast of Iceland, in the neighborhood of Flose, to whose mansion he repaired for assistance with his men, who had barely escaped with their lives. Flose gave him a kind reception; set him by his side in the chief seat at the table, and after having been fully reconciled, gave him Hildigunna to wife.

GUNLAUG ORMSTUNG'S SAGA.

Translated from the Danish edition, in Prof. Muller's Sagabibliothek.

Thorstein, a son of Egil Skalagrimsen, the most powerful chieftain in Borgfiord, once dreamed that he was bringing up a beautiful swan in his house, when two large eagles came flying up, and so fought with each other on her account, that they both fell to the ground dead, and the swan afterwards laid itself down sorrowfully. Then came a third fowl from the west, and the swan flew away with it. A Norwegian skipper, who was his guest, interpreted the dream by saying, that his wife would give birth to a daughter, for whose sake two gifted men would destroy each other. Thorstein was offended with the northman, and told him that he did not know how to interpret dreams; but when he was about to make a journey to the General Court, he charged his wife, if she became the mother of a daughter, not to bring it up herself, but to put it out to nurse. It was in vain that his wife represented how unbecoming it would be for him, a rich man, to be guilty of a little action; he still adhered to his resolution. The predicted daughter was born, but the mother sent it secretly to her sister-in-law, Oluf Pa's wife, by a man who was afterwards commissioned to travel abroad. Six winters afterwards, Thorstein saw the little girl, that had received the name of Helga from his brother-in-law. He was captivated by her beauty, and when they told him that she was his own daughter, he received her with delight.

In Thorstein's region, lived Illuge Sorte, another powerful chieftain of Borgfiord. His son Gunlaug, known as a poet, even in his early years, and called *Ormetunge*—Wormtongue—on account of the keenness of his words, was inspired with a passion for the fair Helga, whose father promised that she should remain his betrothed three years, during which he should seek his fortune in foreign lands.

Gunlaug went first to Erik Jarl, Hagen Jarl's son, in Norway, who resided in his father's mansion. He entered the hall with a company of twelve men. He was dressed in a gray coat and white breeches; he had received a bruise upon his foot, from which issued bloody matter as he walked. Skule, Thorstein's son, was at that very time *hirdmand* with Jarl, and informed him that Gunlaug was the son of one of the most principal men in Iceland. "What is that upon thy foot?" asked Jarl. "A bruise, my lord." "But thou dost not halt with it." "Nor will I," answered Gunlaug, "while both of my feet are of the same length." "This Icelandic prattles well," exclaimed Thorarin, one of Jarl's *hirdmen*; "it were well to prove him." Gunlaug fixed his eyes upon him and improvised the following:

En Hirdmand jeg skuer,
Slet intet han duer,
Troer ham kun kort,
Han er ond, han er sort.

A hirdman here I see,
A worthless karl is he;
Of faith he has not little lack,
For he is vile as well as black.

Thorarin wished to grasp his axe. "Be quiet!" exclaimed Jarl; "we must not notice slight things." "How old art thou, Icelfander?" "Eighteen winters," replied Gunlaug. "I prophesy," answered Jarl, "that thou wilt not see eighteen more." "Thou hadst better predict ill of thyself than of me," half exclaimed Gunlaug. "What is that thou art muttering?" demanded Jarl. "It seems to me," replied Gunlaug, "that thou hadst better invoke good upon thyself than evil upon me." "What should I then ask?" said Jarl. "That thou come not unto the same death as thy father Hakon Jarl." Jarl turned red as blood (for his father was assassinated by one of his bondmen), and exclaimed: "Seize that fool!" But Skule interceded for him, and Jarl contented himself with banishing him from the country.

Gunlaug, after this, sailed for England, in the year 1006, where, at that time, the language was the same as in Norway and Denmark. He produced a poem before King Ethelred, Edgar's son, for which he received a scarlet coat with costly lining and embroidery, and also became his *hirdmand*. The year after he made a journey to king Sigtryg Silkesteag, in Ireland, the son of king Quaran and queen Kormlade. From him also he received splendid garments and also a gold ring. He was afterwards presented with a silver mounted axe by Sigurd Jarl, of the Orkneys, for a song which he composed in his honor. In Gothland he had the opportunity of composing a verse in praise of Erik Jarl, who, as a reward, gave him permission to visit Norway again.

Gunlaug found with Oluf, king of Sweden, another Icelandic bard, Rafn Aumundssen, who commended him to the king. But when they were both to produce their poems on the monarch, a dispute arose, which should be heard first. At length the king permitted Gunlaug to commence, as being the most zealous. When the piece was finished, the king asked Rafn, what he thought of it. "It is a grand poem," replied he, "but hard, like Gunlaug's genius." When Rafn's piece was concluded, the king asked the same of Gunlaug, who replied: "It is a pretty poem, like Rafn himself, but only diminutive; why didst thou compose a *flok* on the king? Was he not worthy of a *drapa*?"—A *flok* was a poem of less compass, and generally used upon trivial subjects. Rafn told Gunlaug upon this, that their friendship was at an end; for he had dishonored him before the king, and that he, in return, would bring him to shame wherever he could.

Rafn went directly from Sweden to Iceland, where he wooed Helga; and when the three years were expired during which she was to wait for Gunlaug, her father betrothed her to Rafn. In the mean time Gunlaug had again visited king Ethelred, where he was obliged to remain one winter, because an invasion from the Danes was apprehended. In the spring he went to Erik Jarl, at Drontheim, where he learned from Halfred Vanraadskald, of Helga's marriage; and both set out together for Iceland. Helga had reluctantly become a bride, and when she heard that Gunlaug had arrived in the country, she would no longer remain with Rafn. At a winter-feast she met Gunlaug in her father's mansion; he came in the splendid hood of king Ethelred, which he presented to

Helga, and they conversed long together. At the next General Court, Gunlaug challenged Rafn to a duel because he had married his betrothed. The laws of duelling were, that he who was wounded should pay three marks of silver. Rafn, who was required to strike first, gave Gunlaug a cut, upon which the friends of both declared the duel ended; and when Gunlaug observed that he should call out Rafn again, a law was passed the next day, that all duelling should be banished from Iceland. But Rafn, grieved that Helga still loved Gunlaug, demanded the latter to meet him out of the land. In this last combat, Gunlaug struck off Rafn's foot, who still did not fall, but stayed himself up against the stump of a tree. "Now thou art disarmed," exclaimed Gunlaug. "I will no longer fight with thee, a cripple." "Had I some water," replied Rafn, "I would yet be master." "Play me not false then," said Gunlaug, "while I bring thee some in my helmet." Rafn promised he would not, but when Gunlaug came with the water, he took it in his left hand and gave Gunlaug a severe wound with his right. "Base fellow!" cried Gunlaug, "thou didst deceive me when I trusted thee!" "I do not envy thee now the embrace of the beautiful Helga," replied Rafn. They now renewed the combat, and Rafn fell. Gunlaug was borne away, but died shortly after, in the year 1013.

When this reached Iceland, Gunlaug's father demanded a fine of the father of Rafn, because his son had killed his by foul play. Rafn's father answered that he had already lost enough, and would not pay any thing; whereupon Illuge fell upon him in surprise, and, although he himself escaped, killed one of his friends and maimed another.

Helga was married the next year to Thorkel Halkelsen, an agreeable, rich man, and also a good poet. They had many children, yet she did not love him, nor could she ever forget Gunlaug. It was her greatest comfort to spread out the cap which Gunlaug had presented her and gaze upon it. Thorkel's house being visited with a sickness, Helga was seized with it, but still would not lie down. One Saturday evening, as Helga sat by the fireside with her head leaning upon Thorkel's knee, she had Gunlaug's cap brought her; she fixed her eyes upon it awhile, and then fell back dead against her husband's bosom.

ADVENTURES IN GREENLAND, AND ALONG THE COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, IN THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

The *Antiquitates Americanæ*, published recently by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, in Copenhagen, contains a collation of the *sagas* of the first settlers of Greenland, embracing principally the history of their adventures along the American coast. From these *sagas* we have selected the story of Thorstein, rather from its tragical character than any other peculiarity of the narrative. It will render the account of this unfortunate adventurer more intelligible, if we advert to the history of his predecessors in the northern seas.

Thorstein was the third son of Eric the Red, who emigrated from

Norway to Iceland, where he became involved in a difficulty with one of the islanders, which resulted in a long and inveterate quarrel, and ultimately in the proscription of Eric. Some time previous to this, an adventurer, by the name of Gunbiorn, had discovered a new land, which, on his return to Iceland, he had called *Greenland*, as the only term that could convey to the inhabitants of an *island of ice*, the *beau ideal* of an elysium. The outlawed Eric was one of the first to seek in the new country an asylum against his persecutors. In the spring of 986 he set sail, in company with a little band of hardy spirits, for the *el dorado* whose description had fascinated their imaginations. On their arrival in Greenland, Eric fixed his residence on a little bay, which he or his successors called *Ericsfjord*; and Herjulf, his friend and follower, at a promontory which perpetuated his name under the Herjulfssness. Biarne, a son of the latter, and then absent on a trading voyage to Norway, found on his return to Iceland, that his father had sailed for the new country. This intrepid mariner immediately turned his prow into an uncharted ocean, resolved, as he said, "to winter with his father, as had been his custom," in Iceland. He was blown off by northerly winds, and lost among fogs, until he and his men found themselves in waters that never before had been furrowed by a keel. At a distance and in a direction from the track of former navigators, which they could not conjecture, lands successively arose to their view, of every diversity of surface and soil. Arriving at last at Herjulfssness, the description of their voyage inspired Eric's son Leif with an ardent desire to explore the lands which had been thus unexpectedly discovered. Having bought Biarne's ship for this purpose, he manned it with a crew of thirty-five men, and, in the year 1000, sailed from Greenland on a regular voyage of discovery. He touched successively at the lands described by Biarne, and then coasted along the North American shore, probably as far as Massachusetts' Bay. On an island, which, from their description, is supposed to have been that of Nantucket, Leif constructed a little cluster of cabins, which were called *Leifsbudir*—Leif's booths.—They occupied these while they were exploring the interior of the country, and lading their ship with the natural productions of the soil, especially with a species of spontaneous grapes, on account of which they called the country *Vinland*.

On their return to Greenland, Leif's brother Thorwald thought that these discoveries had not been prosecuted with sufficient accuracy, nor to such an extent as they deserved. Having borrowed Leif's ship, he sailed in 1003, and following his brother's instructions, arrived at *Leifsbudir*, where he passed the winter. In the spring he despatched small parties in different directions to explore the coast and country. One of these parties is supposed to have proceeded in the longboat of the ship as far at least as the mouth of the Hudson. While prosecuting these discoveries by land and sea along the New England shore, Thorwald came suddenly upon a party of nine *Skrælings* or Esquimaux.* A conflict ensued in

* It is not probable that the natives here encountered were the Esquimaux. Mr. Schoolcraft, with good reason, supposes them to have

which eight of the Esquimaux were killed, the other escaping in his canoe. This skirmish was a mere prelude to a most desperate assault. The natives, advised of the presence of such strangers, poured down upon Leif's little party by thousands, and would have instantly overwhelmed them, had they not been so fortunate as to effect their escape to the ship, where they protected themselves against the arrows of their numerous assailants by raising screens along the ship's sides. In this encounter, Thorwald received a wound under his arm, which he soon felt to be mortal. A short time previous, he had been delighted with the beauty of a tract of land extending into the sea, and had expressed a wish to settle there. He now gave it to his companions, as his dying charge, to take him to that verdant point and bury him by the sea-side, and also to plant a cross at the head of his grave, "that the place should be called *Krossaness*—Cross-cape—in all coming time." His followers faithfully complied with the last wish of their dying commander, and dug the first white man's grave in those unbroken solitudes, which were yet to repose in the slumber of centuries, ere they should be crossed by the footsteps of civilization.

When Thorwald's companions carried the intelligence of his tragical fate to Greenland in the spring of 1005, his brother Thorstein, Eric's third son, as an expression of his fraternal affection, resolved to rescue his brother's remains from their desert and distant resting place, and to bring them back to Greenland. The result of this enterprise is the subject of

THE NARRATIVE OF THORSTEIN ERICSSON.

Translated from the Icelandic.

Thorstein Ericsson, wishing to go to Vinland after the body of his brother Thorwald, fitted out the same ship, and manned it with a crew of twenty-five large, strong men, taking with him also his wife Gudrida. They set sail as soon as they were equipped, and were soon out of sight in the open sea, where they were tossed about all summer, without knowing where they were. At the expiration of the first week of winter, they landed at Lysufjord in the western part of Greenland. Here Thorstein sought and provided shelter for all his crew; but he and his wife were houseless, and remained on board the ship several nights.

Early one morning, several persons approached the cabin, and the foremost of them inquired what people were within. "There are two persons here," replied Thorstein; "but who asks?" "My name is Thorstein," answered the first, "Thorstein the Black, and it is my errand hither, to invite you both home with me to lodge." Thorstein said he would first consult his wife; and with her assent, he accepted the invitation. "Then I will come after you in the morning," rejoined the other, "with my horses; for I lack nothing to entertain you; besides it is very lonely with me, as there are only two of us, I and my wife at home, and I am rather

been a more southerly tribe of Indians. See a learned article from his pen, in the American Biblical Repository for April, 1839, p. 435, seq.

EDITOR.

difficult to please. I have also a religion, which, though different, I esteem to be better than yours."

The next morning Thorstein the Black came for them with his horses, and they went to live with him, and he treated them with much hospitality. Gudrida was an elegant woman, discreet and well knowing how to deport herself among strangers.

Early that winter a sickness came among Thorstein's men, and many of his crew died of it. Thorstein had coffins made for their bodies, and ordered them to be taken on board of the ship and there preserved: "For," said he, "I mean to have them all carried back to Ericsfiord in the summer." Not long afterwards, the epidemic entered the family of Thorstein the Black, and his wife, whose name was Grimhilda, was the first one attacked. She was extraordinary large and as strong as a man, yet she sank under the disease. Soon after, Thorstein Ericsson was taken with the same disorder, and they both lay upon one bed. Grimhilda, the wife of Thorstein the Black, died; and when she was dead, her husband went out of the room for a plank to lay her out upon, when Gudrida said to him: "Be not long away, my Thorstein!" and he promised her he would not. After having made a coffin for Grimhilda, Thorstein carried her out and buried her; and although he was both large and strong, yet he needed all his strength before he could remove her from the house.

The disease of Thorstein Ericsson now became more violent, and he also died, and the grief of Gudrida was almost insupportable. They were now all together in one room. Gudrida was sitting in a chair before the bed on which her husband lay, when Thorstein, her host, took her from the chair to his bosom, and, sitting down with her on another seat over against the body of Thorstein Ericsson, he comforted and consoled her greatly. He promised he would go with her to Ericsfiord with her husband's remains and those of his companions: "And I will also take thither," said he, "some domestics to comfort and assist you." She was thanking him, when Thorstein rose up in bed and exclaimed: "*Where is Gudrida?*" He repeated this question three times, but she was silent. She then said to her host: "Shall I answer his question or not?" He told her to return no answer. He then went across the room and sat down in the chair, and Gudrida still sat upon his knee. "What dost thou desire, my namesake?" he asked. Thorstein Ericsson answered, after a moment's pause: "I have a desire to tell Gudrida her destiny, that she may be better able to bear my death; for I have arrived at a good place of rest. But this is what I would say, Gudrida: You will be married to an Iclander, and you will live long together, and leave a numerous posterity who shall be powerful, illustrious, noble and sweet-savored. You will go from Greenland to Norway and thence to Iceland; and there you will fix your residence and dwell for a long time; but thou wilt outlive him. Thou wilt then go abroad and travel to the south, and afterwards return to thy dwelling in Iceland. At that time a church will be raised, and thou wilt there abide and lead the life of a nun, and there wilt thou die." Having uttered these words, Thorstein sank back; and his body was composed and borne to the ship.

Thorstein the Black discharged faithfully all that he had promised Gudrida. The next spring he sold his land and cattle, and embarked with Gudrida and all that he possessed. He fitted out the ship and manned it with a crew, and sailed for Ericsford. The dead bodies were interred by the church in that place. Gudrida went to Leif, her brother-in-law in Brattalid, but Thorstein the Black, fixed his residence in Ericsford, and resided there as long as he lived, and was esteemed a very intelligent man.

ARTICLE VII.

THE COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH CHINA :—THE OPIUM QUESTION.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE progress of civilization, and its gradual extension to tribes of men heretofore rude and uncultivated, the spread of Christianity, and the increased facilities by which mercantile enterprise has of late been enabled to profit by trafficking in the productions of all countries and climates, have awakened a sympathy among the nations of the earth altogether new and extraordinary. The impression of distance is now comparatively annihilated. Our interest is awakened in a people,—whether on this or the other side of the globe,—in proportion to our estimate of their intellectual and moral character, the extent of their population, the extent of their possessions, the productiveness of their soil and their available resources for the purposes of trade. It is thus that the attention of the enlightened nations of Europe and our own country has been strongly attracted towards the populous empires of the East. Christian philanthropists, animated by the hopes which are inseparable from their faith in the promises of God, are pushing their way to the darkened millions of those empires to inculcate the peaceful and elevating truths of their religion. The learned are investigating their geography, history and antiquities, and thus preparing the way for a better knowledge of their present character and capabilities; while the cupidity of the merchant and of mercantile nations, sustained and encouraged by the maritime powers of Europe, is alive to every conceivable expedient by which the immense resources of the east may be made to increase the wealth, luxury and aggrandisement of the west.

Such are the causes which, of late, have brought the moral, commercial and political relations of Great Britain with China into earnest discussion. "The iniquities of the opium trade," for a number of years past, have been gradually developing themselves, and the conscience of the British nation has been burdened with a sense of its guilt. It was not, however, until the rupture, in 1839, between the Chinese authorities and the *chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China*,

that the monstrous evils of this trade became the subject of exciting and absorbing controversy in England. Since that date numerous books have been written, and the periodical press has teemed with discussions and representations both for and against the claimed rights of the opium trade, while the Christian world has contemplated with deep mortification the marshalling of a British fleet under the national flag, to chastise the Emperor of China,—for what? Is it for his noble resolution to rescue four hundred millions of people from the destructive influence of an intoxicating drug, which was debasing the people, and causing the premature death of one hundred thousand per annum? We shall see. The terms which shall be dictated by the conquering power will show us the end and aim of its expedition.

A topic of so much interest as this will claim our attention, in conducting the Eclectic. The mass of discussions, however, presented in the English periodicals, has rendered it difficult for us to determine where to begin our selections; and we have made choice of the following article, not because it expresses our own views of the moral obligations of the British nation, in respect to the opium question, but as exhibiting the best statement, which we have seen, of the facts and occurrences out of which the war against China has grown. It contains also some valuable indices to the leading characteristics of the Chinese people, which will serve as a useful introduction to what we may hereafter publish illustrative of the history, literature, and moral condition of that ancient, proud, and immensely populous empire. EDITOR.

From the British and Foreign Review, April, 1840.

1. *The Canton Register*. 1839.
2. *The Canton Press*. 1839.
3. *Address of British Merchants trading at Canton to the Right Honorable Lord Viscount Palmerston, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs*. Canton, 23d May, 1839.
4. *The Iniquities of the Opium Trade with China; being a development of the main causes which exclude the Merchants of Great Britain from the advantages of an unrestricted Commercial Intercourse with that vast Empire*. By the Rev. A. S. THELWALL, M. A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: W. H. Allen and Co., Leadenhall-street. 1839.
5. *The Opium Question*. By SAMUEL WARREN, Esq., F. R. S., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London: James Ridgway, Piccadilly. 1840.
6. *The Chinese Vindicated, or Another View of the Opium Question; being in reply to a pamphlet, by Samuel Warren, Esq., F. R. S., &c.* By CAPTAIN T. H. BULLOCK, H. M. the Nizam's Army. London: W. H. Allen and Co., Leadenhall-street. 1840.

THE commercial relations of Great Britain with China—for political relations she cannot be said to have any—are of so anomalous a kind, that, before entering upon the more immediate subject of this article, it will be necessary to make a few preliminary observations respecting them.

In all other parts of the globe to which the spirit of commercial adventure had led us, finding nations or tribes of men in all degrees of civilization, one of two things has happened. We have either gone on trading with them till, some quarrel having arisen, our superior knowledge has enabled us easily to subdue them; or, finding them in a stage of civilization equal

to, or not far short of our own, we have continued the commercial intercourse, regulated by certain rules recognised by a considerable portion of the nations of the earth which style themselves civilized. The former of these events has happened in the case of the nations of India, as well as of some African and American tribes; the latter, in the case of the European nations, and some of those of Asia and Africa which border on the Mediterranean. The case of the Chinese differs essentially from all these.

Our first intercourse with China dates as far back as the year 1637, only about twenty years later than that with India. It is unnecessary to trace, step by step, its history from that time to this. It will be sufficient to state the result, viz. that in those two hundred years we have rendered ourselves in India sovereigns of a country containing a population equal to more than half that of all Europe; while in China we have not acquired a foot of territory, the acknowledgment of a single commercial relation on a footing of equality, nor the privilege of being viewed in any other light, or treated on any other footing by the government and people of the self-styled Celestial Empire, than as a pack of intrusive, mean, peddling, pettifogging barbarians. We do not use these terms rhetorically or for the purpose of calling up feelings of animosity towards the Chinese; to do so is not our object, as will sufficiently appear in the sequel. But we use them simply because they indicate a fact—and a fact which, with other facts, it is necessary to know in order to understand the various bearings of the question which we are about to discuss.

It is very important towards arriving at right conclusions on this question, to form, as far as possible, correct notions respecting the condition of the people with whom we have to deal. The tendency is at present in this country rather to underrate the Chinese; the Jesuit missionaries who furnished the early accounts of them greatly overrated them; and, as is usually the effect of a reaction,—because they and those who followed their accounts ascribed to the Chinese a very high degree of civilization, of advancement in wealth and power, and the sciences and the arts which tend to humanize life,—succeeding generations have gone to the opposite extreme, and have pictured to themselves the Chinese as a horde of miserable barbarians. This view is perhaps as far from the truth as the other.

We are not concerned to know for our present purpose what may be the particular attainments of the Chinese in literature and science; our business is with their social and political condition; to know, namely, whether that is sufficiently bad to warrant any interference, on the part of the British Government, with the view of improving it; for this after all is the question. There is no doubt but we could very much incommode the Chinese by blockading their coasts; that we could bombard some of their towns, demolish their forts, and destroy their shipping (such as it is); nay, that we could even march to Peking, and reduce it to a heap of ruins. But *cui bono?* is the question that immediately arises. What should we get by it, except a certain loss of ready money, and a contingent loss of many things besides? Moreover, are we prepared to undertake, in addition to the hundred millions of our Indian subjects, the government of some three hundred millions of human beings, who now obey the Chinese

Emperor, in such manner as to ensure them a larger portion of happiness than they now enjoy under the rule of his Celestial Majesty? Among the Chinese, though the standards of enjoyment and knowledge may be, according to our notions, not very high, yet the means of both enjoyment and information, such as they are, are perhaps more equally distributed than among any people on the face of the earth. They are a most industrious people; and, what is particularly worth noticing, they are cheerful and happy in their industry. These facts, if they can be substantiated, are so important, that it seems worth while to adduce the best testimony that can be procured in regard to them. We therefore make the following extracts from Mr. Davis's work, which, from the long residence of the author in China, and his more than ordinary opportunities of acquiring information, is admitted by competent judges to be one of the most trustworthy that have yet appeared on this subject.

The great wealth of the empire, the cheerful and indefatigable industry of the people, and their unconquerable attachment to their country, are all of them circumstances which prove that, if the Government is jealous in guarding its rights, it is not altogether ignorant or unmindful of its duties. We are no unqualified admirers of the Chinese system, but would willingly explain, if possible, some of the causes which tend to the production of results whose existence nobody pretends to deny. In practice there is of course a great deal of inevitable abuse; but upon the whole, and with relation to ultimate effects, the machine works well,—and, we repeat, that the surest proofs of this are apparent on the very face of the most cheerfully-industrious and orderly, and the most wealthy nation of Asia. It may be observed that we make great account of the circumstance of cheerful industry, because this characteristic, which is the first to strike all visitors of China, is the best proof in the world that the people possess their full share of the results of their own labor. Men do not toil either willingly or effectively for hard masters.*

* The following remarks, which we have translated from a French journal, indicate another cause for the cheerful industry of the Chinese, less creditable to the morals of the government than that assigned by Mr. Davis.

"The Emperor, by virtue of his descent from the last conqueror, is the owner of the whole country; and he exacts therefore, by a legitimate title, a tax from the cultivator. This tax is paid in money and the produce of the soil; and it amounts to so large a sum that the farmer is unable, with the greatest industry, to enrich himself by his labor. And this, undoubtedly, is the reason that there are so few extensive proprietors in China. Though free in appearance, the peasant labors in reality for the Emperor; and he receives in compensation for his toil only the bare necessities of life. Such an arrangement would, of course, array the laboring classes against the sovereign, were it not that he is able to divert public discontent into a different channel. The collection of the taxes is committed to the officer appointed for the purpose. If he does not return the designated sum, he is required to

It would be a very rash conclusion to form any estimate of the insecurity of property generally from what is observed at Canton among those connected with the foreign trade, and especially the Hong merchants. These persons are instruments in the hands of a cautious government, which, not wishing to come into immediate collision with foreigners, uses them in the manner of a sponge, that, after being allowed to absorb the gains of a licensed monopoly, is made regularly to yield up its contents, by what is very correctly termed "squeezing." The rulers of China consider foreigners fair game: they have no sympathy with them, and, what is more, they diligently and systematically labor to destroy all sympathy on the part of their subjects, by representing the strangers to them in every light that is the most contemptible and odious. There is an annual edict or proclamation displayed at Canton at the commencement of the commercial season, accusing the foreigners of the most horrible practices, and desiring the people to have as little to say to them as possible. We have already seen that the professed rule is to govern them "like beasts," and not as the subjects of the empire. With perfect consistency, therefore, they are denied the equal benefits and protections of the known laws of the country, condemned to death for accidental homicide, and executed without the Emperor's warrant. These are their real subjects of complaint in China; and *whenever the accumulation of wrong shall have proved, by exact calculation, that it is more profitable, according to merely commercial principles, to remonstrate than to submit, these will form a righteous and equitable ground of quarrel.*

But, to return to the Hong merchants and others at Canton, there is in fact a set of laws existing under this jealous Tartar Government which makes all transactions of Chinese with foreigners, without an express license, traitorous—that is the word,—and it forms a terrible engine of extortion; for the construction of the terms of the license, as well as of the particular regulations from time to time enacted, opens a wide field for injustice under the forms of law.

This last sentence deserves to be noted, as showing that while our intercourse with China remains on its present footing, we can never tell with certainty what articles are contraband and what are not. Mr. Davis thus proceeds:

This is the only solution of the anomaly, that at Canton, in a country where there is a written code, with numerous provisions against extortion and oppression, and with severe denunciations against the abuse of power, there should still be so much of the evil apparently existing. But it is the foreigner that pays after all; the Hong merchants are the *véritables vaches à lait*, the real milch cows; but the foreign trade is the pasture in which they range. One of the ablest of their body, many

make good the deficiency: if he is too severe in his exactions, and the subject accuses him of oppression, his property is confiscated. In this way the blame falls entirely on the officer; and the government, by punishing him, vindicates its paternal solicitude. This is one of the great secrets of political science in China." See Journal of the French Society of Universal Statistics, Vol. VII. p. 505. EDITOR.

years since, obtained the express authority of the local government for the Consou, or body of Hong merchants, to levy charges at its own discretion on the foreign trade, for the avowed purpose of paying the demands of the mandarins. Other annual charges were levied to defray debts of individual merchants to foreigners, and, the debts being liquidated, the charges are continued. But for these abuses, the fair trade of Canton would be much more profitable than it is; and, if they increase, it will die a natural death.

There are some curious practical anomalies, which one is not prepared to find under a despotism. The people sometimes hold public meetings by advertisement, for the express purpose of addressing the magistrate, and this without being punished. The influence of public opinion seems indicated by this practice, together with that frequent custom of placarding and lampooning (though of course anonymously) obnoxious officers.* Honors are rendered to a just magistrate, and addresses presented to him on his departure by the people; testimonies which are highly valued.

It is deserving of remark, that the general prosperity and peace of China has been very much promoted by the diffusion of intelligence and education through the lower classes. Among the countless millions that constitute the empire, almost every man can read and write sufficiently for the ordinary purposes of life, and a respectable share of these acquirements goes low down in the scale of society. Of the sixteen discourses which are periodically read to the people, the eighth inculcates the necessity of a general acquaintance with the penal laws, which are printed purposely in a cheap shape. They argue, that as men cannot properly be punished for what they do not know, so likewise they will be less liable to incur the penalty if they are made duly acquainted with the prohibition.

The Chinese have lived so much in peace that they have acquired, by habit and education, a more than common horror of political disorder. "Better be a dog in peace, than a man in anarchy," is a common maxim. "It is a general rule," they say, "that the worst of men are fondest of

* As a specimen of this, we extract from the *Canton Register* of the 8th January, 1839, the following free translation of a pasquinade posted at the governor's gate:

"O'er th' impoverished but broad Eastern land,
Our venerable Tang holds chief command;
His favors fall on those who seizures make,
Yet in the daring game he holds a stake.
Four cruising boats his son and comrades keep
To scour the waters of the inner deep;*
And in his halls, having heaped an untold store
Of gold, unsatiated still he craves for more;
While dice and women all his hours employ,
Still the fond father censures not the boy.†
O blind to reason! no distinctions seen,
The good must bow to tyrants and the mean:
But leagued oppression will resistance cause,
And men's indignant hearts assert the laws."

* These boats were kept for the purpose of smuggling opium. What were foreigners to think of the reality of a law against opium which was thus openly broken by the governor of Canton?

† The governor employed his son to superintend his smuggling boats.

change and commotion, hoping that they may thereby benefit themselves; but by adherence to a steady, quiet system, affairs proceed without confusion, and bad men have nothing to gain." They are, in short, a nation of incurable conservatives. At the same time, that only check of Asiatic despotism—the endurance of the people—appears from their history to have exercised a salutary influence. The first Emperor of the Ming family observed: "The bowstring drawn violently will break; the people pressed hard will rebel." Another sovereign observed to his heir: "You see that the boat in which we sit is supported by the water, which, at the same time, is able, if roused, to overwhelm it; remember that the water represents the people, and the Emperor only the boat." *Amidst all the internal revolutions of China, it is deserving of remark that no single instance has ever occurred of an attempt to change the form of that pure monarchy which is founded in, or derived from patriarchal authority.** The only object has been, in most cases, the destruction of a tyrant; or, when the country was divided into several states, the acquisition of universal power by the head of one of them.

The Chinese show much respect to age; but their regard for age, even, is secondary to their respect for learning. "In learning," says their maxim, "age and youth go for nothing; the best informed takes the precedence." The chief source of rank and consideration in China is certainly cultivated talent.

Wealth alone, though it has of course some necessary influence, is looked upon with less respect, comparatively, than perhaps in any other country; and this because all distinction and rank arise almost entirely from educated talent. The choice of official persons, who form the real aristocracy of the country, is guided, with a very few exceptions, by the possession of those qualities, and the country is therefore as ably ruled as it could be under the circumstances.—"Les lettres," observed a correspondent of ours from Peking, "ainsi honorées par les Hân, ont acquis un grand ascendant sur le peuple; la politique s'en est emparée dans toutes les dynasties, et c'est sans doute à cette réunion des esprits que la Chine doit son bonheur, sa paix, et sa prospérité."—The official aristocracy, content with their solid rank and power, aim at no external display; on the contrary, a certain affectation, on their part, of patriarchal simplicity operates as a sumptuary law, and gives a corresponding tone to the habits of the people. We are bound to admit that some evil results from this; superfluous wealth, in the hands of the vulgar possessors of it, is driven to find a vent occasionally in the gratifications of private sensuality.

Independently altogether of political considerations—that is, of the policy or expediency of the measure—any civilized nation that should attempt, by conquest, to disturb this state of things would evidently incur a very awful moral responsibility. At the same time there are certain features in the Chinese system with regard to foreigners, some of which are

* We have marked this by Italics, because it is important with reference to the future.

slightly touched upon in one of the above extracts, that deserve—indeed, the time seems now to have arrived when they imperatively demand—the most serious and grave consideration.

The fundamental maxim of Chinese intercourse with foreigners has been accurately translated by Père Premare as follows, and it is quite sufficient to explain their conduct. “Barbari, haud secus ac pecora, non eodem modo regendi sunt ut reguntur Sinæ. Si quis vellet eos magnis sapientiæ legibus instruere, nihil aliud quam summam perturbationem induceret. Antiqui reges istud optime callebant, et ideo barbaros non regendo regebant. Sic autem eos non regendo regere, præclara eos optime regendi ars est.” That is, “The barbarians are like beasts, and not to be ruled on the same principles as citizens. Were any one to attempt controlling them by the great maxims of reason, it would tend to nothing but confusion. The ancient kings well understood this, and accordingly ruled barbarians by misrule. Therefore, to rule barbarians by misrule is the true and the best way of ruling them.” It is on this principle that all the benefits of Chinese law are denied to strangers, and that, in the case of even accidental homicide, they are required to be delivered up, not for trial, but execution. The mischiefs of such a system are obvious, and it is in consequence of this that acts of atrocious violence, on the part of foreigners, committed by them under the plea of doing themselves right, have been attempted to be justified, though coming strictly under the definitions of piracy, murder, or arson, which, under a more vigorous government, would have rendered them the property of the public executioner.*

The conduct of the Chinese to Europeans is what might be expected from such premises.

The natural consequence is, that their conduct to Europeans is very different to their conduct among themselves. Except when under the influence of either interest or of fear, they are often haughty and insolent to strangers, as well as fraudulent; and such is the effect of opinion among them, that, even in cases where interest may persuade them to servility, this will not be exhibited in the presence of a countryman. A beggar has often been seen, who, though he would bend his knee very readily to European passengers when unobserved, refrained altogether from it while Chinese were passing by. It was some time before the very coolies, the lowest class of servants, would condescend to carry a lantern before a European at night; and still longer before they could be induced, by any wages, to convey him in a sedan even at Macao, where it is permitted. Is it surprising, then, that they should reconcile it, without much difficulty, to their feelings to overreach and ill-use, occasionally, these creatures of an inferior rank, who, as their government phrases it, come to benefit by “the transforming influence of Chinese civilization;” or, rather, is it not very surprising that so general a course of honesty and good faith, and so many instances of kind-

* Davis's Chinese, Vol. I. p. 66.

ness and generosity even, should have been experienced in their intercourse with us?

A true calculation of their own interest makes most of the merchants of that place sufficiently scrupulous in their commercial engagements; but on all other points "the foreign devil," as they call him, is fair game. Many a Chinese of Canton, in his intercourse with a stranger, would seem occasionally to have an abstract love of falsehood and trickery, independently of any thing that he can gain by it; and he will appear sometimes to volunteer a lie, when it would be just the same to him to tell the truth. Mr. Barrow has attributed their national insincerity to a motive which no doubt operates with the higher classes, as much as an ignorant contempt, and a mischievous malignity, do with the rabble. "As a direct refusal," he observes, "to any request would betray a want of good breeding, every proposal finds their immediate acquiescence: they promise without hesitation, but generally disappoint by the invention of some slight pretence or plausible objection: they have no proper sense of the obligations of truth." *This renders all negotiations with them on public matters almost entirely fruitless, as no reliance whatever can be placed on them for the fulfilment of engagements. They dispense with faith towards foreigners in a manner truly Machiavellian.*

There is a positive law against the use of things not sanctioned by custom; partly therefore from fear, partly from conceit, they are very little inclined to adopt foreign modes, or purchase foreign manufactures. Raw produce, or the materials of manufactures, find a better market among them; but the most marketable commodity of all is dollars. Indisputably superior as Europe is in science, and in the productions of science, yet to a Chinese, who sees few things brought from thence that really suit his peculiar and conventional wants, or that are in conformity with the usages enjoined by the ritual,—and who, until lately, heard little of the different states into which Europe is divided, but the indistinct rumor of their endless wars and massacres on a large scale,—it is not surprising if no very elevated picture presented itself, in comparison with his own immense and wealthy country, its hundreds of millions of industrious and intelligent people, and an uninterrupted peace of nearly 200 years, even if we go no farther than the Tartar invasion.

The Chinese frequently get the better of Europeans in a discussion, by imperturbable coolness and gravity. It is part of their policy to gain the advantage by letting their opponent work himself into a passion, and place himself in the wrong; hence the more than ordinary necessity of carefully preserving the temper with them. Gravity of demeanor is much affected, particularly by magistrates and persons of rank; it is styled *choong*, literally heavy, or grave (which in its origin means the same), in contradistinction to *king*, light, or levity.

It is the discipline to which they are subject from earliest childhood, and the habit of controlling their ruder passions, that render crimes of violence so unfrequent among them. Robbery is very seldom accompanied by murder. Under real or supposed injury, however, they are sometimes found to be very revengeful, and on such occasions not at all scrupulous as to how they accomplish their purpose. Women will

sometimes hang or drown themselves, merely to bring those with whom they have quarrelled into trouble. The people, quiet and submissive as they are, will, when once roused by intolerable oppression, rise *en masse* against a magistrate, and destroy him if they can. In such a case, should the obnoxious governor escape the vengeance of the populace, he seldom meets with any mercy at Peking, where revolts prove serious occurrences to those under whom they take place.*

We add in corroboration of this an extract from the speech of Mr. William Jardine, at a public dinner given to him on the occasion of his departure for Europe, as we find it reported in the *Canton Register* of the 29th January, 1839 :

I have been a long time in this country, and I have a few words to say in its favor; here we find our persons more efficiently protected by laws than in many other parts of the East or of the world; in China, a foreigner can go to sleep, with his windows open, without being in dread of either his life or property, which are well guarded by a most watchful and excellent police; but both are perilled with little or no protection in many other states; business is conducted with unexampled facility, and in general with singular good faith; though there are, of course, occasional exceptions that but more strikingly bear out my assertion. Neither would I omit the general courtesy of the Chinese in all their intercourse and transactions with foreigners; these, and some other considerations, are the reasons that so many of us so oft revisit this country, and stay in it so long.

The following translation of a Chinese document, which we extract from No. 21, Vol. XII. of the *Canton Register* (May 21st, 1839), gives a curious though somewhat ludicrous view of a Chinese's notion of the foreigners trading at Canton :

There are three nations of the outside Foreigners, trading at Canton, who store up and sell opium; namely:—The English, otherwise called "The red-bristled."

India is that dependency of the "red-bristled" nation where opium is produced: the people (Parsees) are vulgarly called "white-headed devils."

The American, otherwise called the "Flower flag" nation, buy their opium from India.

Those nations trading at Canton which do not sell opium are the following: France, Holland, and Spain. The above three nations now come and trade at Canton.

Denmark, otherwise called—"The Great Yellow Flag;" Sweden, otherwise called—"The Little Yellow Flag." These two nations have not traded with China for a long time.

Austria; traded hither in the first year of Taoukwang.—Prussia; traded hither in the eighth year of Taoukwang.—Hamburgh; traded

* Davis's Chinese, Vol. I. p. 253, *et seq.*

hither in the third year of Taoukwang. *Alin* (?) traded hither in the fourth year of Taoukwang. A report was made respecting this country (*Alin*?) which is on record, and since then its merchants have not been allowed to frequent our market.

Russia; ships of this nation came to Canton in the 19th year, but were not allowed to trade.

[Then the name of one foreigner is quoted as not being a seller of opium, and with high praise in relation with other matters. We do not give this gentleman's name, as he is well known to the foreign community as being a notorious opium dealer.]

The names of Foreigners who sell opium. [These names we decline translating, as in so doing we shall not give any new information to our readers.]

The Foreign gentlemen who have studied the literature of *Tang*, and who understand the speech, and can write the characters of *Tang*, are three; namely: young Morrison. This man is very dangerous. He is secretary to Elliot.

Thom. This is a surpassing good and useful man, and all the Foreigners listen to his words.

Fearon. This is a very good man, scarcely twenty years old. On account of his youth this Foreigner is prevented from engaging in trade.

The Foreign store ships, large and small, do not only belong to the "red bristled," or English; many of them are country ships from India; the next in degree are the Americans.

Some of them carry ports on two, some on three decks. Generally speaking on each deck are seven or eight guns mounted on each side. The smaller vessels carrying ports on one deck, have their guns on their upper, or only deck, and their number does not exceed five or six. The guns are generally of copper; the largest weighing from two to three thousand, the next in size between one and two thousand, and the smallest near a thousand catties. There are not any guns on the fore-castle, but on the taffrail there are some copper swivels.

All these ships, without distinction of nations, store up and sell opium; when they have sold their opium they proceed to Whampoa, load with goods, and return home.

Each of these ships carries three masts, and they all have flags. The English hoist a white banner, at the upper part of which thin red cross lines are drawn (St. George's ensign). The country ships hoist the English flag. The "flower flag" (nation) hoist a red flag, on which is drawn the *Pih-mei-fa* (the flower of the Prune: i. e. the stars and stripes). When they are not under weigh they do not hoist their flags.

We have made these extracts the more full, that we may not appear to present a one-sided view of the subject, and because we do not wish to draw a conclusion from the unfavorable, keeping out of view the favorable side of the Chinese character. But upon the whole the evidence on the subject would seem to warrant the conclusion that there would be no use whatever in sending any more embassies or conciliatory missions to the Chinese court. Let us now look at what further light may have been thrown upon the question by the late events.

The importation of opium into China was at one time permitted on payment of a duty. This permission, however, was discontinued in 1796, since which time the Imperial Government of Peking has steadily prohibited it. The effects of this prohibition have so far differed from those of similar prohibitions among the civilized nations of the globe, that not only have the Chinese people continued to indulge largely in the use of the article prohibited, but the prohibitory laws have never been observed by the functionaries of the Chinese Empire, who have taken their fees as regularly upon the article imported as if those fees had been to go into the Emperor's coffers in the shape of legal duties. The Peking Government may appear indeed to have been desirous to discourage its importation; but the Provincial Government long connived at it. Previously to 1837 fees to the inferior mandarins* at Lintin, who ought to have prevented its introduction, were paid on every individual chest. A person was deputed by them to receive, on board the store-ships at Lintin, a statement of the number of chests delivered, and fees on them at a certain rate. These facts are admitted in the edict of the Imperial Commissioner, bearing date the 18th March last, in which that high functionary states, "that the prohibitions formerly enacted by the Celestial Court against opium were comparatively lax," and that "the foreigners are men from distant lands, and have not before been aware that the prohibition of opium is so severe."

The Celestial Court, in the various edicts which it has of late issued against the importation and use of opium, assigns two principal causes of its hostility to the drug; 1st, its tendency to demoralize the people; 2d, the drain of silver out of the country caused by its importation. We have been informed by gentlemen who have resided long in China, and possessed more than ordinary opportunities of information, that the second is the substantial reason which acts upon the Chinese Government.

The "Statement of Trade in British vessels at Canton, from 1st July, 1837, to 30th June, 1838," issued by order of the Committee of the "General Chamber of Commerce" of Canton, furnishes us with the following results:

IMPORTS.		EXPORTS.	
	Value in Spanish Dollars.		Value in Spanish Dollars.
Opium	13,554,039	Tea	9,317,992
Other articles . .	11,231,432	Other articles . .	12,696,708
	24,785,462		22,014,700
		Balance	2,770,762
			24,785,462

This balance of the trade is paid to us in silver, and *hinc illæ lachrymæ*. It is smaller in the year given above than in some preceding years.

* It is continually asserted that the heads of the department of the Provincial Government were bribed to connive at the opium trade, but it would be difficult to prove it.

About the commencement of the year 1839, the Celestial Court showed symptoms of more vigorously setting about the suppression of the opium trade. The following extract from the *Peking Gazette* of 21st January, 1839, indicates the Celestial intention of making root-and-branch work with it:

Peking Gazette.—Canton, 12th moon, 7th day, (21st January, 1839.)

The following fire express has arrived from the military board.

Taoukwang, 18th year, 11th moon, 15th day, (31st Dec. 1838.) The imperial edict has been received. I order *Lin Tsihtseuen*, the governor of *Hookwang*, immediately to proceed post-haste to Kwangtung, to investigate and direct the affairs of the sea-ports of that province. I invest him with the power and seals of an imperial envoy; whoever is the admiral in the said province, he and his subordinates are to put themselves under his orders.—*Respect this*.

On the same day a despatch was received from the privy council, addressed to *Tang* the governor, and *Ee* the lieut. governor (as follows).

On the 18th day of the 11th moon, (3d Jan. 1839,) the imperial will was received.

I, the Emperor, on account of the daily increase of that flowing filth, opium, and the great increase in the amount of sycee going abroad, have especially appointed *Lin Tsihtseuen*, the governor of *Hookwang*, to proceed post-haste to Canton, there to investigate and manage the affairs of the sea-ports, &c.

The said governor, after he has received the orders, must scrub and wash away the filth, and, really exerting himself, must examine and manage according to the old regulations; he must not indulge himself with hopes of shifting the affair from him; and still further, he must not think of sitting still and looking on (whilst *Lin* manages the business).

The practice *must be stopped*, that the affairs and mind of me, the Emperor, may be assisted. The said governor holds the rule over the lands of the two *Yue*; the duties of his government are multifarious, and I apprehend he is not capable* of devoting his whole mind to the management of the opium question. I have, therefore, especially deputed *Lin* to Canton, for the sole management of this affair; that he may cut up the evil by the roots, and remove calamities from the people.

The management of this affair is really the duty of the said governor, in which he should exert his utmost energy. Let him and *Lin* consult together and deliberate on the plan of operations, assembling all the superior officers, and then send up a duly prepared report. You, ministers, should understand my imperial will, and unite to exclude this great national evil.—Let these orders be generally made known.—*Respect this*.

We extract from a proclamation "to the foreigners of every country, issued immediately after the receipt of the foregoing mandate, by "*Tang*,

* It was not likely that he should be, seeing he was himself the greatest opium smuggler in Canton. See ante, p. 116.

governor of the two *Kwang* provinces, &c., and *Ee*, Fooyuen of *Kwan-tung*," &c., the following passage, as further showing the light in which the Celestial Court views all the other nations and governments of the earth :

But if from first to last ye obstinately adhere to your stupidity and awake not ; if ye will still be guided by the principles of greediness and avarice, then it is ye who by your own act put yourselves beyond the protection of the laws ! We, the governor and Fooyuen, have no need to be thus worrying ourselves and spending our strength in vain, constantly adopting preventive measures against you, and apprehending our own people. We have only to memorialize the Emperor that he shut up the port, *and stop the foreign trade for ever !* After the port shall have been shut up, no matter whether ye may bring opium or not, the tea and rhubarb of the inner land will not be permitted to leave the country : and thus may we instantly hold the life of every foreigner at our command !

We find, moreover, that the respective kings of all these different countries have been hitherto obedient and submissive ; and further, that the laws which govern you foreigners are rigorous in the extreme. It is to be presumed that when your supplies of tea and rhubarb are cut off, an inquiry will take place as to the way in which this has been brought about : and thus, oh ! ye foreigners !—though ye may escape the net of our laws, yet ye may find it difficult to escape the net of your own !

On the 10th of March, Lin, the Imperial Commissioner, arrived in Canton, accompanied by seven officers, among whom was a former judge of Canton, named *Yaou*. He visited the governor and Fooyuen, and then immediately sent for the Hong merchants, and desired them to produce Fung Ying and Chin Keuen, the first formerly an extensive opium-broker, the last a well-known China-street merchant, known latterly as a dealer in silk and drug. They both concealed themselves. On the 11th he was reported to have gone to the hoppo's (chief commissioner or collector of customs) office, and examined the records ; and afterwards to the Bogue in Macao.

On the 18th of March, Lin issued a proclamation to foreigners, which, as being both important and curious, we give nearly entire :

LIN, a high officer of the Chinese empire, now specially appointed an imperial envoy, a president of the board of war, and viceroy of Hoo Kwang, hereby proclaims to the foreigners of every nation, that they may thoroughly know and understand.

Whereas ye, the said foreigners, coming to Canton to trade, have usually reaped immense profits ; therefore it is that your ships, which in former years amounted annually to no more than several tens, now exceed a hundred and several tens, which arrive here every year. Your import-goods, no matter what they be, with us find a consumption ; and respecting the cargo which you may wish to purchase in return, there is nothing in which you may not adventure. I would like to ask you if in the wide earth under heaven you can find such another profit-

yielding market as this is? Our great Chinese Emperor views all mankind with equal benevolence, and therefore it is that he has thus graciously permitted you to trade, and become, as it were, steeped to the lips in gain. If this port of Canton, however, were to be shut against you, how could you scheme to reap profit more? Moreover, our tea and rhubarb are articles which ye foreigners from afar cannot preserve your lives without; yet year by year we allow you to export both beyond seas, without the slightest feeling of grudge on our part: never was imperial goodness greater than this!

Now, if ye foreigners had a proper sense of gratitude for this extraordinary goodness, ye would hold the laws in dread; and while ye sought to profit yourselves, ye would abstain from injuring other men. But how happens it, on the contrary, that ye take your uneatable opium and bring it to our central land, chousing people out of their substance, and involving their very lives in destruction? I find that by means of this noxious article, you have been fraudulently imposing upon the Chinese people now upwards of several tens of years, during which time the unjust wealth ye have reaped exceeds all calculation: this is a circumstance sufficient to rouse the general indignation of mankind, and which the laws of heaven can with difficulty scarce pardon.

Formerly the prohibitions of our empire might still be considered indulgent, and therefore it was that from all our ports the sycee leaked out as the opium rushed in: now, however, the great Emperor, on hearing of it, actually quivers with indignation, and before he will stay his hand the evil must be completely and entirely done away with.

Respecting our own subjects, he who opens an opium shop, or who sells opium, is immediately put to death; and it is also in agitation whether or not to the mere smoker may not be accorded the extreme penalty of the law; and ye foreigners who come to our central land to reside ought in reason to submit to our statutes, as do the natives of China themselves.

Now I, the said imperial envoy, reside in Fokien on the borders of the sea, and thoroughly understand all the arts and ingenious devices of you foreigners in all their bearings; so it is I have to thank the great Emperor for thus specially appointing me as an officer, who has frequently distinguished himself by meritorious actions, to be a special commissioner for reducing to order these distant districts, and for taking measures with irresponsible authority to prevent the further influx of opium. Were I to go back and sit in judgment on your reiterated crimes as relates to the selling of opium,—then indeed to spare you would be impossible; but, remembering that ye are foreigners from afar, and that hitherto ye may not have known that our laws are so severe, I now clearly expound the statute to you, not bearing to slay you without previous instructive warning.

I find that ye have now anchored, at Lintin and other places, many store-ships, in which are several tens of thousands of chests of opium. Your intention is to dispose of them clandestinely, but ye remember not how strict we are in making captures at this port; how, then, will ye find people who will convey it for you any more?—And seizures being made with equal severity throughout every province of the empire, what other place have ye where ye dare to sell it off? *This time*

opium is indeed prohibited and cannot circulate ; every man knows that it is a deadly poison ; why then should ye heap it up in your foreign store-ships, and keep them there long anchored on the great sea ; not only thereby wasting much money by the heavy expenses, but exposing them to the chance of storms, of fire, and other accidents which no man can foresee ?

I, therefore, uniting all these circumstances, now issue this my edict ; and when it reaches the said foreigners let them immediately and with due respect in conformity thereto, take all the opium in these said store-ships, and deliver it up to the officers of government ; and allow the hong merchants to examine clearly, which man by name gives up so many chests ; the total weight, so many catties and taels ; and let (the hong merchants) make out a distinct list to that effect, and hand it up to the officers to be checked ; that these officers may openly take possession of the whole, and have it burned and destroyed, so as to cut off its power of doing mischief ; a single atom must not be hidden or concealed ; and at one and the same time let a duly prepared bond be drawn up, written in the Chinese and foreign character, stating clearly that the ships afterwards to arrive here shall never to all eternity dare to bring any opium : should any ship after this bring it, then her whole cargo on board is to be confiscated and her people put to death ; and that they will willingly undergo it as the penalty of their crime : all this to be stated clearly in the said bond.

* * * * *

I have now ordered the hong merchants to go to your factories, and explain the matter to you ; and I have limited three days within which they must let me have a reply, and at the same time produce the duly-prepared bond afore-mentioned.

Wait till I have consulted the viceroy and Fooyuen, when we shall clearly proclaim the time within which the opium must be delivered up.

Do not indulge in idle delay and expectation, which will only lead to a vain repentance. A special edict.—Taoukwang, 19th year, 2d moon, 4th day.—18th March, 1839.

At the same time Lin issued an edict to the hong merchants, in which, amid a long catalogue of the offences of the said merchants, he dwells much upon the exportation of silver :

Did the foreigners, he says, really barter goods for goods, what silver would there be for them to carry away ? But more than this, the hong merchants once represented that each year, in addition to the interchange of commodities by barter, the foreigners require always to bring into the inner land foreign money to the amount of four or five millions of dollars. Were this really the case, how comes it that of late years the foreign ships have brought into the port no new foreign money, and that the foreign silver existing in the country has daily been diminishing in quantity ? And how happens it, that among the hong merchants there have been bankrupts whose debts to foreigners have exceeded a million of money ? It is clear that these four words "goods bartered for goods," are totally and altogether false.

The edict concludes in the following threatening terms :

These commands are now given to the hong merchants, that they may convey them to the foreign factories, and plainly make them known. It is imperative on them to act with energy and loftiness of tone, and to unite in enjoining these commands. Three days are prescribed, within which they must obtain the required bonds, and report in reply hereto. If it be found that this matter cannot at once be arranged by them, it will be apparent, without inquiry, that they are constantly acting in concert with depraved foreigners, and that their minds have a perverted inclination. And I, the high Commissioner, will forthwith solicit the royal death-warrant, and select for execution one or two of the most unworthy of their number, confiscating their property to government, and thus will I show a lucid warning. Say not that you did not receive early notice. A special edict. Taoukwang, 19th year, 2d month, 4th day, (17th March, 1839.)

(True translation,)

J. ROBERT MORRISON,
Chinese Secretary and Interpreter to the Superintendents
of British trade in China.

On Monday the 18th of March, late at night, Mr. Thom was requested by Howqua to go to his hong and translate the above proclamation.* This service was performed so speedily that a translation was read to the foreigners on Tuesday morning. On Tuesday the 19th an edict was issued by the Hoppo to the hong merchants, ordering them to communicate to the foreigners that "pending the stay of the Commissioner in Canton, and while the consequences of his investigations, both to foreigners and natives, were yet uncertain, all foreign residents were forbidden to go down to Macao." On the evening of Tuesday the hong merchants requested the attendance of the British and American merchants. In compliance with this requisition about six or eight foreign merchants proceeded to the Consol-House, where they were informed by the hong merchants that if the Imperial Commissioner's edict was not literally complied with on the following day, two of their number would lose their heads. On Thursday the 21st, a general meeting of the members of the General Chamber of Commerce was called together by public circular. At ten o'clock a very full meeting assembled, and proceeded to take into consideration the proclamation addressed to the foreigners of all nations by his excellency, the Imperial Commissioner Lin. The result of the meeting was the adoption of a letter to the hong merchants, to be conveyed to them by a deputation of members of the Chamber. About ten P. M., on the evening of the same day, the whole body of the hong merchants attended at the Chamber, and an extraordinary meeting of such of the principal foreigners as could be found on a hasty summons, was convened to receive them. The hong merchants

* We can vouch for the general accuracy of the statement of the facts of the case here given, on the best authority, that of an eye-witness of the highest respectability.

stated that they had just come from Commissioner Lin, who had threatened to put two of them to death if they did not procure the surrender of opium, say 1000 chests, by the next morning. The foreigners were taken by surprise with this appeal, and induced from compassion to subscribe 1000 chests. The next morning, however, they perceived the absurdity of the merchants' tale; for it was very unlikely, to say the least of it, that the Commissioner, who had only a few days before asserted that he knew there were several thousands of chests at Lintin, of which he must have all, should now be content with 1000 chests; and the whole affair was quashed. This tended much, however, to distract the foreigners, many of whom believed that the Commissioner's proceedings tended to the old story of procuring a heavy *squeeze*, and would there end.*

On Friday Mr. Dent had been pressed by the hong merchants to go inside the city on the following day in obedience to the wishes of the Imperial Commissioner; but when former acts of treachery on the part of the Chinese government were brought to Mr. Dent's recollection, he declined entering the city, except under a safe conduct granted by the Commissioner himself, the only irresponsible officer then at Canton.

On Saturday morning nearly the whole foreign community were in Mr. Dent's house, when two Mandarins went there to induce him to go, and the foreigners were unanimous against his going. When this was stated to the mandarins, they asked if any one would go to tell this to the Kwang-chow-foo, their superior officer at the Consol-Hall, for they dared not. Mr. Inglis (the second partner in the firm of Messrs. Dent and Co.) offered to go, and some others accompanied him. The Quong officer seemed on hearing it to be in a similar dilemma, and he asked Mr. Inglis if he would go into the city to tell this to the Commissioner, to which Mr. Inglis at once assented, and went forthwith, accompanied by Messrs. Gray, Thom, Fearon, and Slade. They did not see the Commissioner, but the four Sze officers. They first examined Mr. Thom, who speaks Chinese, by himself; then Mr. Inglis through a Chinese interpreter, the other gentlemen not being present. The reasons Mr. Inglis gave for Mr. Dent's not appearing were;—That the other foreigners considered Mr. Dent to be

* In illustration of this we subjoin here the following passage from Capt. Elliot's correspondence with Lord Palmerston. "It was remembered that the late frequent changes of policy of the government in relation to this trade, left it a matter of perfect doubt to the very day before the Commissioner's first edicts appeared, whether the avowed purposes were to be depended upon or not, or whether the object was merely the extensive check of the trade by subjecting it to heightened temporary inconvenience, and exacting some considerable fees for the price of its future relaxation.

"Up to a very late date, my lord, no portion of the trade of China has so regularly paid its fees to the officers of this and the neighboring provinces, high and low, as that of opium; and, under all the circumstances of the case, I am warranted in describing the late measures to be those of public robbery, and of wanton violence on the Queen's officers and subjects, and all the foreign community in China."

selected by the Commissioner as a representative of them all, to deliver up opium; but as they were not prepared to do that, they would not let him go; that the surrender of the opium was a very important question to them, and they wished more time to consider of it; that it was not their own, but belonged to people in other countries, to whom they would be responsible for it by their own laws, if they gave it up without an equivalent; that he was going to England immediately and should be liable for it there; that Mr. Dent had no more objection, personally, to go into the city than himself, but that he was prevented by the other foreigners, being considered as their representative; whereas he (Mr. Inglis) acted for himself, without consulting others: to all which, repeated over and over, the criminal judge answered as often, that he knew nothing about their laws; that the Commissioner was a very high officer who had issued his command for Mr. Dent to appear before him, and Dent must obey, and that he must tell him so. Mr. Inglis previously told all this to the Kwang-chow-foo through Mr. Thom, who also went over the whole ground again to the Wey-yune, an immediate personal attendant on the Commissioner, after their appearance before the Sze officer.

Their chief object was to get the difficulty of their position made known to the Commissioner through his officer, and to gain time; but Mr. Inglis's particular view in going to the Kwang-chow-foo, in the first instance, was to avoid if possible exasperating him and the other inferior mandarins, which Mr. Dent's refusal to go and to accept their pledge for his safety, in compliance with the general opinion, was likely to do. When Captain Elliot came to Canton, he blamed Mr. Inglis for going;* but on Mr. Inglis's giving the above reason, he admitted that Howqua had told him, that had he not gone into the city, the Kwang-chow-foo would have been deprived of his button that night. When they returned home from the city, they found the hong merchants already at Mr. Dent's house, to tell Mr. Dent that he must still go into the city at 10 o'clock the following morning. It had never occurred to any of them till then, that the next day was their Sabbath. Upon mentioning this to the merchants they seemed equally well pleased at the prospect of obtaining a day's grace, and told Mr. Dent to write so to the viceroy. This the interpreter did immediately; and an answer was as quickly returned, to the effect, that Dent must go into the city at 10 o'clock on Monday morning, and the officer would come to take him. On Sunday afternoon Captain Elliot arrived in Canton, and took the whole responsibility on himself, which, we have been assured, was felt as a great relief by every Englishman, if not by every foreigner in Canton.

Early in the morning of Sunday copies of the following circular reached Canton:

* Captain Bullock in his pamphlet blames the British merchants for not doing this very thing which Mr. Inglis did. Because Mr. Dent declined to go, he assumes that no one went.

Circular to Her Britannic Majesty's Subjects.

The Chief Superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China, having received information that Her Majesty's subjects are detained against their will in Canton, and having other urgent reasons for the withdrawal of all confidence in the just and moderate dispositions of the Provincial Government, has now to require that all the ships of Her Majesty's subjects at the outer anchorages should proceed forthwith to Hong Kong, and, hoisting their national colors, be prepared to resist every act of aggression upon the part of the Chinese Government.

In the absence of Captain Blake, of Her Majesty's sloop *Larne*, Captain Parry, of the *Hercules*, will make the necessary dispositions for putting the ships in a posture of defence, and, in the absence of Captain Parry, that duty will devolve on Captain Wallace of the *Mermaid*.

And the Chief Superintendent, in Her Majesty's name, requires all British subjects to whom these presents may come, to respect the authority of the persons herein charged with the duty of providing for the protection of British life and property.

Given under my hand and seal of office, at Macao, this twenty-second day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine.

[Signed]

CHARLES ELLIOT,

Chief Superintendent of the Trade of British Subjects in China.

Between six and seven o'clock, P. M., Captain Elliot landed at the steps of the British consulate from a boat belonging to Her Majesty's sloop *Larne*. Captain Elliot, after giving orders to hoist the British flag, gave verbal notice of an immediate public meeting of all foreigners, and then proceeded, attended by most of his countrymen and others, and a crowd of Chinese, to Mr. Dent's factory in the Powshong hong whence in a few minutes he returned, accompanied by Mr. Dent, to the British consulate; he immediately held the meeting he had summoned, and read the following notice:

Public Notice to British Subjects.

L. S.

Macao, 23d March, 1839.

The considerations that have moved the undersigned to give public notice to all Her Majesty's subjects that he is without confidence in the justice and moderation of the provincial government are:

The dangerous, unprecedented and unexplained circumstance of a public execution before the factories at Canton, to the imminent hazard of life and property, and total disregard of the honor and dignity of his own and the other western governments, whose flags were recently flying in that square; the unusual assemblage of troops, vessels of war, fire-ships, and other menacing preparations; the communication, by the command of the Provincial Government, that in the present posture of affairs the foreigners were no longer to seek for passports to leave Canton (according to the genius of our own countries, and the principles of reason, if not an act of declared war, at least its immediate and inevitable preliminary); and lastly, the threatening language of the

High Commissioner and provincial authorities, of the most general application and dark and violent character.

Holding it, therefore, impossible to maintain continued peaceful intercourse with safety, honor, or advantage, till definite and satisfactory explanations have passed in all these particulars, both as respects the past and the future, the undersigned has now to give further notice that he shall forthwith demand passports for all such of Her Majesty's subjects as may think fit to proceed outside, within the space of ten days from the date that his application reaches the government; such date hereafter to be made known.

And he has to counsel and enjoin all Her Majesty's subjects in urgent terms to make immediate preparations for moving their property on board the ships "Reliance," "Orwell," and "George the Fourth," or other British vessels at Whampoa, to be conveyed to Macao; forwarding him, without delay, a sealed declaration and list of all actual claims against Chinese subjects, together with an estimate of all loss or damage to be suffered by reason of these proceedings of the Chinese Government.

And he has further to give notice, that the Portuguese government of this settlement has already pledged itself to afford Her Majesty's subjects resident here, every protection in its power so long as they shall be pursuing no course of traffic within the limits of the settlement at variance with the laws of this empire. And he has most especially to warn Her Majesty's subjects that such strong measures as it may be necessary to adopt on the part of Her Majesty's Government, without further notice than the present, cannot be prejudiced by their continued residence in Canton (beyond the period now fixed), upon their own responsibility, or without further guarantees from the undersigned.

And he has further to give notice, that if the passports shall be refused for more than three days, from the date that his application shall reach the provincial government, he will be driven to the conclusion that it is their purpose to detain all Her Majesty's subjects as hostages, and to endeavor to intimidate them into unsuitable concessions and terms, by the restraint of their persons, or by violence upon their lives or property, or by the death of native merchants in immediate connexion with them, both by ties of friendship and of interest, or by the like treatment of their native servants.

The undersigned, in conclusion, most respectfully submits these observations to the attention of all the foreigners in China, and the respective governments closely united by a community of feeling and interests, not only in their own quarters of the globe, but most especially in this peculiar country: he feels that he is performing an act of duty in offering them every humble assistance in his power on this and all similar occasions, when they may be of opinion, that he can be useful to them.

Given under my hand and seal of office at Macao, this twenty-third day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine.

[Signed]

CHARLES ELLIOT,

Chief Superintendent of the Trade of British Subjects in China.

On Sunday evening, about nine o'clock, the native servants were directed to leave the foreign factories, and the natives were forbidden to sell them food of any kind. The coolies of the different hong, armed with shields, spears, swords and staves, as well as a detachment of troops, occupied the square, and guarded the doors of the British consulate, more particularly to prevent the escape of Mr. Dent. The river near the factories was cleared of all the boats usually there, and instead of them, three rows of boats filled with police and soldiers were there stationed, rendering escape altogether impossible. The streets leading into the square from the town were blocked up, and no native was allowed to remain or to go into any of the foreign factories. In the course of Monday night a boat belonging to the George IV., which had been hauled up high and dry in front of the Creek hong, was taken possession of by the Chinese, and on Tuesday night, between nine and ten o'clock, several of the sailing and rowing boats belonging to the foreigners, were, by the hong merchants' orders, hauled into the middle of the square, and turned bottom up. On Tuesday the following proclamation was issued by High Commissioner Lin, calling upon foreigners speedily to deliver up their opium under four heads. He puts one or two of the points with some ingenuity. But it is upon the Rhadamanthine principle (*castigatque auditque, first he punisheth and then he heareth*), for he had first used the most irresistible argument of all, viz. the imprisonment of those with whom he argued. And this *argumentum ad hominem*, or perhaps rather *argumentum baculinum*, renders all the others not worth considering.

First.—Ye ought to make haste and deliver it up, by virtue of that reason which heaven hath implanted in all of us.

I find that during the last several tens of years, the money out of which you have duped our people by means of your destructive drug, amounts I know not to how many tens of thousands of myriads! thus, while you have been scheming after private advantage with minds solely bent on profit, our people have been wasting their substance and losing their lives, and if the reason of heaven be just, think you that there will be no retribution? If, however, ye will now repent and deliver up your opium, by a well-timed repentance, ye may yet avert judgment and calamities; if not, then your wickedness being greater, the consequences of that wickedness will fall more fearfully upon you! Ye are distant from your homes many tens of thousands of miles; your ships, in coming and going, cross a vast and trackless ocean; in it ye are exposed to the visitations of thunder and lightning and raging storms, to the dangers of being swallowed up by every species of monster of the deep; and amid such perils fear ye not the retributive vengeance of heaven? Now my great Emperor, being actuated by the exalted virtue of heaven itself, wishes to cut off this deluge of opium, which is the plainest proof that such is the intention of high heaven! It is then a traffic on which heaven looks with disgust, and who is he that may oppose its will? Thus, in the instance of the English Tapan Roberts who violated our laws:—he endeavored to get possession of Macao by force, and at Macao he died! Again, in the 14th year of Taoukwang (1834) Lord

Napier bolted through the Bocca Tigris, but being overwhelmed with grief and fear he almost immediately died; and Morrison, who had been darkly deceiving him, died that very year also! Besides these, every one of those who have not observed our laws, have either on their return to their country been overtaken by the judgment of heaven, or silently cut off ere they could return thither! These are facts recorded in the newspapers of all countries! Thus then it is manifest that the heavenly dynasty may not be opposed! and still, oh ye foreigners! do you refuse to fear and tremble thereat?

Secondly.—You ought to make immediate delivery of this opium, in order to compliance with the laws of the land.

I have heard it said, that the laws of your own countries prohibit the smoking of opium, and that he who uses it, is adjudged to death! thus plainly showing that ye yourselves know it to be an article destructive to human life. If, then, your laws forbid it to be consumed by yourselves, and yet permit it to be sold that it may be consumed by others, this is not in conformity with the principle of doing unto others what you would that they should do unto you:—if on the other hand, your laws prohibit its being sold, and ye yet continue to sell it by stealth, then are ye sporting with the laws of your own countries! and, moreover, the laws of our Chinese empire look upon the seller as guilty of a crime of a deeper dye, than the mere smoker of opium. Now you foreigners, although ye were born in an outer country, yet for your properties and maintenance do ye depend entirely upon our Chinese empire; moreover, in our central land ye pass the greater part of your lives, and the lesser portion of your lives is passed at home; the food that ye eat every day, not less than the vast fortunes ye amass, proceed from nought but the goodness of our Emperor, which is showered upon you in far greater profusion than upon our own people: and how is it, then, that ye alone know not to tremble and obey before the sacred majesty of our laws? In former times, although opium was prohibited, yet the penalty attached thereto did not amount to a very severe punishment; this arose from the extreme mildness of our government; and therefore it was that your clandestine dealings in the drug were not scrutinized with any extraordinary rigor. Now, however, our great emperor looks upon the opium trade with the most intense loathing, and burns to have it cut off for ever; so that henceforward not only is he who sells it adjudged to death, but he who does no more than smoke it, must also undergo the same penalty of the law! Now try and reflect for one moment:—If ye did not bring this opium to China, how should the people of our inner land be able either to sell it or to smoke it? the lives of our own people which are forfeited to the laws are taken from them by your unrighteous procedure: then what reason is there that the lives of our own people should be thus sacrificed, and that ye alone should escape the awful penalty? Now I, the High Commissioner, looking up to the great Emperor, and feeling in my own person his sacred desire to love and cherish the men from afar, do mercifully spare your lives.—I wish nothing more than that ye deliver up all the opium you have got, and that you forthwith write out a duly prepared bond to the effect that you will henceforth never more bring opium to China, and should you bring it, agreeing that the cargo be confiscated, and the people who

bring it put to death. This is pardoning what is past, and taking preventive measures against the future: why any longer cherish a foolish, indiscriminate generosity? Moreover, without discussing about the opium which ye have sold in by-gone years, and adding up its immense amount, let us only speak about that quantity which during the last year ye have clandestinely sold, which I presume was no small matter, hardly equal to the quantity which ye have now stored up in your receiving ships, and which I desire may be entirely surrendered, to the mutual advantage of all: where is there the slightest chance or prospect that after this you will be permitted to dupe our deluded people out of their money, or inveigle them to an act in which destruction overtakes them? I have with deep respect examined the statutes of this the Ta-tsing [i. e. Tartar-Chinese] dynasty, and upon these statutes I find it recorded, "If a Chinese or foreigner break the laws, they shall be judged and condemned by the same statute," and words to that effect. Now upon former occasions we have condemned foreigners to death, as in the case of having killed our people, they require to give life for life, &c., &c., of which we have instances recorded. Now think for a little: depriving an individual of his life is a crime committed in a moment, and still the perpetrator of it must forfeit his own life in return. But he who sells opium, has laid a plot to swindle a man out of his money, as well as to deprive him of his life; and how can one say that it is only a single individual, or a single family, that the opium seller thus dupes and entangles in destruction? and for a crime of this magnitude ought one to die or not to die? and still will ye refuse to deliver up your opium, which is the way to preserve your lives? Oh ye foreigners! do ye deeply, deeply ponder upon this!

Thirdly.—You ought to make immediate delivery of this opium, by reason of your feelings as men.

Ye come to this market of Canton to trade, and ye profit thereby full threefold. Every article of commerce that ye bring with you, no matter whether it be coarse or fine, in whole pieces or in small, there is not one iota of it that is not sold off and consumed; and of the produce of our country, whether it be for feeding you, for clothing you, for any kind of use, or for mere sale, there is not a description that we do not permit you to take away with you, so that not only do you reap the profit of the inner land by the goods which you bring, but moreover by means of the produce of our central land do you gather gold from every country to which you transport it. Supposing that you cut off and cast away your traffic in the single article of opium, then the other business which you do will be much increased; you will thereon reap your threefold profit comfortably, and you may, as previously, go on acquiring wealth in abundance: thus, neither violating the laws, nor laying up store for after misery, what happiness, what delight will be yours? But if on the other hand ye will persist in carrying on the opium traffic, then such a course of conduct must infallibly lead to the cutting off of your general trade. I would like to ask of you, if under the whole heavens ye have such an excellent market as this is? Then without discussing about tea and rhubarb, things which you could not exist without, and every kind and description of silk, a thing which you could not carry on your manufactures without, there are under the head

of eatable articles, white sugar, sugar candy, cassia, cassia buds, &c., &c., and under the head of articles for use, vermilion, gamboge, alum, camphor, &c. :—how can your countries do without these? and yet our central land is heaped up and overflowing with every kind of commodity, and has not the slightest occasion for any of your importations from abroad! If on account of opium the port be closed against you, and it is no longer in your power to trade more, will it not be yourselves, who have brought it upon yourselves? Nay, further, as regards the article of opium, there is now no man who dares to buy it, and yet ye store it up in your receiving ships, where you have so much to pay per month for rent; day and night ye must have laboring men to watch and guard! and why all this useless and enormous expense? A single typhoon, or one blaze of fire, and they are forthwith overwhelmed by the billows, or they sink amid the consuming element! these are all things very likely to happen! What better plan, then, than at once to deliver up your opium, and to reap enjoyments and rewards by so doing?

Fourthly.—You ought to make a speedy delivery of your opium, by reason of the necessity of the case.

Ye foreigners from afar, in coming hither to trade, have passed over an unbounded ocean, your prospects for doing business depend entirely on your living on terms of harmony with your fellow men, and keeping your own station in peace and quietness. Thus may you reap solid advantage and avoid misfortune! But if you will persist in selling your opium, and will go on involving the lives of our foolish people in your toils, there is not a good or upright man whose head and heart won't burn with indignation at your conduct; they must look upon the lives of those who have suffered for smoking and selling the drug as sacrificed by you; the simple country folks and the common people must feel any thing but well pleased, and the wrath of a whole country is not a thing easily restrained:—these are circumstances about which ye cannot but feel anxious! The men who go abroad, are said to adhere bigotedly to a sense of honor. Now our mandarins are every one of them appealing to your sense of honor, and on the contrary we find (to our amazement) that ye have not the slightest particle of honor about you! are you quite tranquil and composed at this? and will ye yet acknowledge the necessity of the case or not? moreover, viewing it as an article which ought never to be sold at all, and more especially considering that it is not permitted to be sold at this present moment, what difficulty should you make about the matter? Why feel the smallest regret to part with it? Still further, as ye do not consume it in your own country, why bootlessly take it back? If you do not now deliver it up to the mandarins, pray what will be the use of keeping it on hand? After having once made the delivery thereof, your trade will go on flourishing more abundantly than ever! polite tokens of our regard will be heaped on you to overflowing, and oh! ye foreigners! will not this be happiness indeed? I, the High Commissioner, as well as the governor and lieutenant-governor—cannot bear the idea of being unnecessarily harsh and severe; therefore it is, that though I thus weary my mouth as it were, entreating and exhorting you, yet do I not shrink from the task! Happiness and misery, glory and disgrace, are in your own hands!

say not that I did not give you early warning thereof! A special proclamation, to be stuck up before the foreign factories.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 2d moon, 12th day.

Canton, 26th March, 1839.

The above allusion to the deaths of Roberts, etc., calls for some remarks. Similar allusions have been several times before made to supercargoes of the East India Company's Factory, as well as to Lord Napier and others. In all our squabbles with the Chinese for several years past, they have succeeded in creating or fomenting a dissension between the British authorities and some portion of the foreign community. This done, the Chinese proceed to coax the seceders, and to lay the whole blame of the rupture and its continuance upon the British authority, who is thus harassed in every possible way by both parties. In nearly all these cases the British Government and public, on first hearing of them, have immediately sided with the Chinese, and publicly repudiated their own representatives, so that the latter now count upon it as almost a certainty. These disgusts have usually succeeded in either killing the British authority, as was the case with Lord Napier; or in driving him home, as has happened with several. Upon this consummation the Chinese canonize the unfortunate authority as a martyr to his own conscience, the reproaches of his own countrymen, and the wrath of the protecting deities of the empire, and bring forth the precedent on the next rupture, as a warning to the foreigner who dares to oppose their measures. This game was playing with Captain Elliot at the date of the last accounts from China: it had succeeded so far, apparently, as the rupture between him and some of the private traders.

Neither the English nor the Chinese governments are supposed to have ever hitherto given their respective representatives at Canton precise and definite instructions, but to have left both to manage on their own responsibility. Both governments have been ready to disown their agents' acts when they were unfortunate, but with this difference: the English have generally hastened to repudiate their authority as soon as they heard of the trouble; whereas the more wary Chinese reserved their public censure till it was necessary to appease their adversary; but have always been ready enough to join in the humane act of hunting down the British authority.

Early on Wednesday morning Captain Elliot issued the following important public notice:

Public Notice to British Subjects.

I, Charles Elliot, Chief Superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China, presently forcibly detained by the Provincial Government, together with all the merchants of my own and the other foreign nations settled here, without supplies of food, deprived of our servants, and cut off from all intercourse with our respective countries (notwithstanding my own official demand to be set at liberty so that I might act without restraint), have now received the commands of the High Commissioner issued directly to me under the seals of the honorable officer to deliver over into his hands all the opium held by the people of my country.

Now I, the said Chief Superintendent, thus constrained by paramount motives affecting the safety of the lives and liberty of all the foreigners here present in Canton, and by other very weighty causes, do hereby in the name and on the behalf of Her Britannic Majesty's government, enjoin and require all Her Majesty's subjects, now present in Canton, forthwith to make a surrender to me, for the service of her said Majesty's government, to be delivered to the government of China, of all the opium under their respective control, and to hold the British ships and vessels engaged in the trade of opium subject to my immediate direction, and to forward to me without delay a sealed list of all the British-owned opium in their respective possession. And I, the Chief Superintendent, do now, in the most full and unreserved manner, hold myself responsible for, and on the behalf of Her Britannic Majesty's government, to all and each of Her Majesty's subjects surrendering the said British-owned opium into my hands, to be delivered over to the Chinese government. And I, the said Chief Superintendent, do further specially caution all Her Majesty's subjects here present in Canton, owners of or charged with the management of opium the property of British subjects, that failing the surrender of the said opium into my hands, at or before six o'clock this day, I, the said Chief Superintendent, hereby declare Her Majesty's government wholly free of all manner of responsibility or liability in respect of the said British-owned opium.

And it is specially to be understood that proof of British property and value of all British opium surrendered to me agreeably to this notice, shall be determined upon principles and in a manner hereafter to be defined by Her Majesty's government.

Given under my hand and seal of office, at Canton in China, this twenty-seventh day of March, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine, at six of the clock in the morning.

[Signed]

CHARLES ELLIOT,
Chief Superintendent of the Trade of British Subjects in China.
True Copy.

L. S.

EDWARD ELMSLIE,
Secretary and Treasurer to the Superintendents.

On the 28th Captain Elliot issued the following notice:

I, Charles Elliot, Chief Superintendent of the Trade of British Subjects in China, do require any British subject or subjects, in the name of Her Britannic Majesty's Government, who may have opium within his or their factory, to acknowledge the same to me, in person, within the space of two hours from this date.

CHARLES ELLIOT, Chief Superintendent.
Canton, 6 P. M., 28th March, 1839.

It is believed that every British subject complied with this requisition. Merchants of other nations also made over to the British Superintendent whatever opium they held on account of British subjects. The quantity thus offered up amounted to 20,283 chests. The surrender was completed

on the 21st of May. Upon the delivery of the whole of the above-mentioned quantity (and not till then) the foreigners were restored to their liberty. On Friday the 24th of May, in conformity with a public notice issued by him to that effect, Captain Elliot, with all the proscribed British subjects, left Canton. The whole of the opium was then destroyed, under the superintendence of High Commissioner Lin.

In reviewing these proceedings, it is to be carefully borne in mind that Captain Elliot solemnly and repeatedly expressed his own hostility, and that of the government he represented, to the opium trade; publicly warned British subjects of the consequences likely to result from persisting in it; and thus did every thing in his power to put it down*. Perhaps the most unjustifiable part of the whole proceeding, on the part of the Chinese government, is that which is the subject of the following public notice from Captain Elliot, with the more important part of which we shall close our statement of the facts of the case :

Public Notice to Her Majesty's Subjects.

The officer deputed by the Commissioner, and the Keun Min Foo, having caused certain notices to be publicly placarded at Macao, inciting British merchants, commanders, and seamen, to disregard the lawful injunctions of the undersigned, he has this day transmitted to those authorities the accompanying declaration. A copy of the same will be submitted to the Commissioner.

(Signed)

CHARLES ELLIOT,
Chief Superintendent.

Macao, 21st June, 1839.

Such being the facts of the case, we must now inquire what principles of law or ethics are applicable to them.

Out of the circumstances narrated above two questions arise:—The first a question between the British Government and a portion of its own subjects, being partly a question of English law, and partly a question of ethics; in other words, being subdivisible into two questions, a legal and a moral:—The second a question between the British Government and the Chinese Government, and belonging to the law, not of nations, but of nature.

[To be continued.]

* That he had done so for a year previous to the confiscation may be concluded from the following extract from a despatch of Lord Palmerston of June 15th, 1838. "With respect to the smuggling trade in opium, which forms the subject of your despatches of the 18th and 19th November, and 7th December, 1837, I have to state, that Her Majesty's government cannot interfere for the purpose of enabling British subjects to violate the laws of the country to which they trade. Any loss, therefore, which such persons may suffer in consequence of the more effectual execution of the Chinese laws on this subject, must be borne by the parties who have brought that loss on themselves by their own acts."

EDITORIAL REMARKS.

The remaining portion of this article contains an able discussion of the questions above announced. The conclusions to which the writer arrives are, briefly, as follows :

1. That the British Government, though not bound by any express law to respect the acts of their *Chief Superintendent*, Captain Elliot, is, nevertheless, morally bound to approve of his demand on the British subjects, then in custody of the Chinese, to surrender the opium in their possession. This surrender the writer views as a RANSOM for the lives of 180 British subjects, and urges that the British government, irrespective of any claim it may have upon the government of China, is bound, without delay or equivocation, to redeem the pledge of indemnity given by Captain Elliot to the owners of the opium which was surrendered and destroyed.

2. That there are many considerations which show it to be the imperative duty of the British government,—not to compel the Chinese again to open their ports to the opium trade,—but to demand indemnity from the Chinese government, and by force to reduce the Chinese to an acquiescence in those rules, by which civilized nations are accustomed to conduct their intercourse. This is urged as a result of immense importance, not only to Great Britain, but to the civilized world.

We briefly state these conclusions of our reviewer to answer the reasonable curiosity of the reader. But, as we have not room for the whole article in the present No., we defer it to our next, when it is our intention to accompany it with some statements and reasonings derived from other periodicals, presenting more fully the arguments on both sides of the main question. In the mean time, further intelligence will have been received from the British expedition against China, from which we may learn more perfectly the system of national morals which the English nation intends to illustrate in the East, and to enjoin, if not to enforce, upon the “celestial empire.”

ARTICLE VIII.

WASHINGTON: BY GUIZOT.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

IN pursuing our researches on the field of foreign literature, our interest is especially attracted by those productions whose themes are American. Not only does it gratify a laudable curiosity, but it is profitable for us to know what is thought and said abroad concerning ourselves and the scenes in which we mingle at home. The names of our distinguished men are so familiar to us that we almost forget the grounds of our admiration or dislike, till we are stirred up to reflection by the fresh thoughts of foreign writers, whose medium of observation is so different from ours, that they often detect occasions both of praise and censure, which to us might never have been apparent. It is not always true that their sentiments on these subjects are more just than our own. In many respects they are less so. Yet the suggestions of a foreigner, of acknowledged learning and practical wisdom, are worthy of our respectful consideration, even when he censures what we have been accustomed to approve. But how much more acceptable are his productions, when they praise what we admire. It is pleasant to receive from the wise and good of other lands such confirmations of the correctness of sentiments and affections which prevail among ourselves in respect to the men whom we delight to honor, and the institutions which we revere.

The article, here introduced, is commended to our readers by several considerations of pleasing interest. The subject of it is our own Washington. The author of the Essay referred to, is one of the most learned and enlightened men of the French nation, an honored *Professor in the Faculty of Letters of Paris, and Minister of Foreign Affairs*. M. Guizot has discharged with eminent ability the highest offices in the government, and lately represented it at the Court of St. James. He is especially admired in this country and in England for the comprehensive, philosophical and splendid views exhibited in his *General History of Civilization in Europe*. His Translator and the Reviewer who warmly seconds his commendation of the *Life and Character of Washington*, are Englishmen. What a concurrence of testimony is this, from two rival nations, to the talents and virtues of the most distinguished name in American history! And how different is the tone of this review from the spirit of the English journals during the war of the Revolution! At that time, Washington was first despised, then hated and feared, as the leader of an insurrection, which British power was in vain exerted to subdue. Now, England vies with France in canonizing him among the great and good of the world's history. To those who have not watched its causes, this change must appear as surprising as it is delightful and instructive.

We value the following article, also, and commend it to our readers on another account. In this time of peculiar political excitement, it may be well for zealous partisans to remember that, fifty years ago, the admirers of Hamilton hated Jefferson, and the friends of the latter were the enemies of the former. Now, the portraits of these distinguished men are drawn by an impartial foreigner, with almost equal expressions of commendation; and the unprejudiced among ourselves,—though there are some things in the history of both, over which they would gladly throw the veil of oblivion,—will not fail to recognise the equal justice which is done them. EDITOR.

From the Monthly Review.

Washington: by Monsieur Guizot. Translated by Henry Reeve, Esq. London: Murray. 1840.

THE representative of the French Government, officiating at this moment at the British Court, prefixed an Essay on the Life and Character of Washington to the French Translation of that illustrious man's Writings; a collection of documents which, as Mr. Reeve justly remarks, have no parallel as a record of the thoughts and actions of a person of the very highest eminence in the whole range of literature, unless it be the Despatches of the Duke of Wellington. Each gives us an accurate and a perfect picture of the writer's life in its actual course, and during the most eventful and exciting scenes; bringing out the character of the hero fully and simultaneously, with all the bearings of the subjects upon which he at the times mentioned happened to be engaged; and thus bequeathing to the world an imperishable monument, autobiographical as well as historical. True, distinct features belong to the Writings as compared with the Despatches, significantly characteristic of the men as well as of the struggles which drew them out. We have more of the private individual in Washington's records than in those of the other, and greater variety, because they traverse a wider sphere of existence and occupation, extending over even the retirement of one who was reluctant to become conspicuous. Whereas in the Wellington documents we have all along a field of public action, of rapid movement, of brilliant achievement. We see Washington by the fireside, upon the farm, amid the interchanges of friendship and ordinary confidings, and as a citizen, as well as in the sphere of military contest, in the senate, or as a diplomatist; whereas Wellington may be said to figure in his papers solely as the warrior and the statesman. In both publications, however, one notable feature is to be observed, viz., the most ample disclosures and the profoundest policy which the nature of the matter in hand required or admitted of, without ever once finding the private character or the genius of the man to be compromised or obscured.

We must also give it as our opinion that the American patriot furnishes a theme more congenial to the taste, the acquirements and the political creed of the Ambassador than what the Great Captain would present. It is not as a military commander that Washington shines most illustriously;

nor is it in that capacity that M. Guizot is best fitted to appreciate him. It is in the effort to delineate the whole man,—in the work of tracing his entire development and history, with their opportunities and occasions, as a citizen and a statesman, that our philosophic historian takes especial delight, acquitting himself with a grasp, a steadiness of comprehension and an eloquence of illustration, which render the Essay a master-piece. A writer of Guizot's powers, creed and habits could not but be great when having for his subject one whom, we believe, he regards as a model, whom, before all others, he would imitate.

Mr. Reeve has judged well in selecting such an Essay for the purpose of translation into the language of a country, which, next to that of the United States of America, has the deepest existing as well as traditionary interest in the facts, the principles and the lessons which it discusses and urges. To the whole world the history of a great mind exercised upon great occasions must be regarded as a monument of lasting and incalculable worth. But to England, whose colonies are so numerous, important, and peculiarly circumstanced, the Essay is crowded with suggestive and instructive matter; and at no time more remarkably since the Declaration of American Independence than at the moment we write. If it be the fact that it is the glory of England to have implanted beside the cradle of her colonies, the germ of their freedom; it must also be a doctrine morally correct that a day may come when the sovereignty of the mother-country may forfeit its right to allegiance, and when the right of self-defence by force devolves upon a people. Few will now deny that such a day had arrived in the British colonies which became the United States of America. If any doubt remain let the volume before us be perused, and the history of the greatest champion of the severance.

Before drawing liberally from these luminous pages, in which the national morality taught is not less high-toned than the facts recorded are extraordinary, we have only further to state that the Essay has not previously been separately published, and could only be procured in connexion and as an introduction to the voluminous French translations of the Writings of Washington; and that besides the careful and competent hand of Mr. Reeve, the work, as it now appears before us, has had the rare advantage of being retouched by the author of the original himself.

In going through the volume the reader will discover that, however anxious the author may be to do ample justice to the character of his hero, yet he is disposed to find in the history of Washington confirmations strong of his own political creed; viz., that of the *juste milieu* system; that is, in the circumstances of America, something between the aristocratic and the democratic parties; or, in other words, a democracy short of radicalism, having its political strength in the central government consisting of some of the higher classes, although socially all citizens are supposed to have equal and alike independent rights. Such views appear to be inculcated.

Very briefly and clearly does the Ambassador indicate the character of the insurrection of the American colonies, hastened and fomented as it was by the policy of the mother country; especially when the character

of the colonists themselves, and their institutions, in their origin and growth, are considered. The fact is, that the colonies in question, at least the most considerable of them, illustrated but the genuine national feeling of England, in its onward course, religious principles lending a sanctity and the main strength to their cause. They had also another essential feature in their condition—a reasonable chance of success. And yet the career of prosperity or disaster, through which they might have to pass, must have appeared to be subject to so many vicissitudes, and beset with such formidable obstacles as might well daunt the most sanguine and patriotic. If in Europe, France and Spain regarded the revolt with strong satisfaction; if Russia and Prussia found an opportunity to cry down and injure England, at this period, in the name of liberty itself; and if the lesser powers felt sore on account of our maritime sovereignty, and delighted to see us involved in a war with our own descendants and brethren; if, again the insurgents were strong morally and socially; and if, even in the counsels of the mother country, America had powerful adherents, exhibiting a glorious quality of representative government, which leaves no cause without a defender; yet in the colonies themselves there were many feelings, interests and parties which seemed to keep the achievement constantly on the verge of utter ruin; so that, humanly speaking, but for the integrity, the talent and the perseverance of Washington, the cause must have been lost before it had obtained any considerable footing. All this is forcibly depicted by M. Guizot, after which he thus moralizes:

The mind is struck by doubts of melancholy alarm, when it surveys the harsh trials to which so just a revolution was exposed,—the numerous and hairbreadth dangers to which a revolution, than which none was ever more prepared for success, was subjected. Unjust and rash are all such doubts. Man is blinded in his hopes by pride—in despondency he is blind from weakness. A revolution, however just and however fortunate, lays bare the mighty moral and physical evil which lurks in all human society. Yet the good principle perishes not in the trial, nor with the impure elements to which that trial unites it; however imperfect, and however adulterated, its power, no less than its rights, abides: if it predominate in man, sooner or later it prevails in man's achievements, and instruments are never wanting to its success.

May the United States for ever bear in grateful and reverential memory the names of the leaders of the generation which conquered their independence and founded their government! Franklin, Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Jay, Henry, Mason, Greene, Knox, Morris, Pinckney, Clinton, Trumbull, Rutledge. All I cannot name, for at the time when the quarrel began, in every colony, and almost in every county of every colony, there were some already honored by their fellow-citizens, already tried in the defence of public liberty, influential by their fortune, their talents, or their character; faithful to the pristine virtues, yet adhering to the enlightened principles of modern society; not insensible to the display of modern civilization; yet fond of simplicity of manners; high in heart, yet in mind modest; at once ambitious and prudent in their desires for their country: men of that singular

quality, that they relied much on human nature, without presuming on themselves, and wished for their country far more than their country could confer upon them after her triumph. To them, with the protection of God and the assistance of the people, that triumph was due. Their leader was Washington.

The career of Washington is next traced from his youth, at which time great expectations had been formed of him; notice had been taken of the leading exploits and events in his life, interspersed with striking reflections as well as personal delineation. His early pursuits and trainings are noticed in the following terms:

From the age of twenty, Washington considered agriculture as his chief business, and thus his life was spent in the closest sympathy with the prevailing propensities and the good sturdy habits of his country. Journeys, field-sports, the exploring of remote hunting-grounds, and intercourse, whether friendly or hostile, with the Indians of the border, were the pleasures of his youth. He was of that active and enterprising disposition which takes delight in the perils and adventures to which man is exposed in the vast wilds of an unexplored country: he was endowed with that strength of limb, that perseverance and presence of mind, which makes a man triumph over such obstacles. Indeed, the confidence he felt in these faculties at the outset of life, was somewhat presumptuous: "For my own part," said he to Governor Dinwiddie, "I can answer that I have a constitution hardy enough to encounter and undergo the most severe trials, and, I flatter myself, resolution to face what any man dares, as shall be proved when it comes to the test."

The above passage contains one of the very many extracts from the Washington papers and other authorities which enrich and corroborate the author's delineation, that are introduced with remarkable skill, exhibiting also by an accumulating and perfecting process the colossal dimensions of the hero's entire character and achievements. His manly independence, his clear and straightforward judgment, his confidence in his own motives and judgment, his reliance on Providence, his modesty, his taste for a military life, characterized as serious and serene, are, among other points, distinctly noticed and illustrated. "From the first," says M. Guizot, "what he loved in war, far above the heat of battle, was the great effort of intellect and will, armed with power, to achieve some grand design." There was nothing merely dazzling and dashing in his genius and career. His greatness was more majestic, his weight far more solid and enduring.

Even without reference to eloquence, Washington had none of those brilliant and extraordinary qualities which strike at once upon the human imagination. He was not one of those ardent spirits, eager to explode, driven onwards by the energy of their thoughts or of their passions, and scattering about them the exuberance of their own natures, before either opportunity or necessity has called forth the exercise of their powers. Unacquainted with aught of inward agitation, untormented by the

promptings of splendid ambition, Washington anticipated none of the occurrences of his life, and aspired not to win the admiration of mankind. His firm intellect and his high heart were profoundly modest and calm. Capable of rising to the level of the highest greatness, he could without a pang have remained ignorant of his own powers, and he would have found in the cultivation of his estate enough to satisfy those vast faculties which were equal to the command of armies and the foundation of a government. But when the opportunity occurred, when the need was, without an effort on his part, and without surprise on that of others, or rather, as has just been shown, in conformity with their expectations, the wise planter shone forth a great man. He had, to a very high degree, the two qualities which, in active life, fit men for great achievements: he trusted firmly in his own thoughts, and dared resolutely to act upon them, without fear of responsibility.

Such a man could not possibly astonish by means of brilliant eccentricities. As Johnson has said of Sir Isaac Newton, he did not so much differ from other men by going out of the ordinary track as by wonderfully outstripping them. Steadily onward and far ahead was the American champion's pace. "To win the independence of the United States by arms, nine years were required; to establish the government by his policy, ten more. Obstacles, reverses, animosities, treachery, mistakes, public apathy and private annoyances beset, as they must ever do, the steps of Washington during this long career. Not for one moment were his faith and hope shaken." He still believed. Let him be but once convinced, and he never afterwards vacillated; upright intentions, close investigation, and methods eminently practical being always observed by him. He was the reverse of a theorist; intrepid instead of versatile.

With regard to Washington's merit as a military commander, we think that Guizot's estimate is very sound; taking into consideration the constitution of his small armies, the immense extent of country in and over which the war was conducted, and the privations to which his troops were often exposed. But the happiest idea in our author's estimate is this, that his hero "knew a loftier and more difficult art than that of making war—he knew how to control it," war never having been to him any thing but a means in furtherance of the noblest object—the independence of his country. "He did the two greatest things which, in politics, it is permitted to man to attempt. He maintained by peace the independence of his country, which he had conquered by war." Other transcendent moral features distinguished his generalship. "He witnessed the success of his lieutenants without umbrage and without offence."

It is the privilege of great men—often a corrupting privilege—to inspire feelings of affection and devotedness, which they do not themselves entertain. Washington was without this vice of greatness. He loved his companions, his officers, his army. It was not only from a sense of justice and of duty that he shared their privations and espoused their interests with indefatigable zeal. He regarded them with feelings of tender affection, mingled with compassion for the hardships he had

seen them undergo, and with gratitude for the attachment they had manifested to him. Thus, when in 1783, at the close of the war, the parting scene took place in the French Tavern at New-York, and each officer, as they defiled silently for the last time before their general, pressed his hand as he passed, Washington himself was affected and overcome, both in heart and in outward appearance, beyond what the strong serenity of his character would seem to admit of.

Yet he never showed towards the army either weakness or favor. He never allowed the army to occupy the happiest place even in its own estimation; and lost no opportunity of inculcating upon it the truth, that subordination and self sacrifice, not only to the country, but to the civil authorities of the country, are its natural condition and its bounden duty.

In three several instances he gave to the army the finest and most effectual of all lessons, that of his own example. In 1782, he "viewed with abhorrence, and reprehended with severity," the very idea of assuming power and the crown, which were proffered him by certain disaffected officers.

These are qualities in the character of a military commander which cannot be surpassed by any other species of excellence and grandeur; and Guizot's tribute, on account of the fine and noble principles and facts which it recognises, is therefore the most honorable and discriminate that can be paid. Under two more aspects let us contemplate Washington as depicted by our author. First in retirement, after years of amazing activity and prodigious sacrifices for the public weal:

When the object of the war was achieved, when he had taken leave of his comrades in arms, another sentiment may be discerned beside the grief of parting and the satisfaction of repose after victory, a feeling so latent as possibly to have been unknown even to himself: regret for his military life, for that noble profession to which the best years of his existence had been so honorably devoted. No pursuit was more attractive to Washington; whose staid genius, more firm than prolific, just and kind to all men, but serious and somewhat cold, was better fitted for command than for contest, whilst it attached him to order, discipline, and subordination in action, and made him prefer a downright and simple trial of strength, in a good cause, to the subtle complexity and the passionate discussions of politics.

"The scene is at last closed," he writes on the 28th December, 1783, a few days after he had divested himself of his official character. "I feel myself eased of a load of public care. I hope to spend the remainder of my days in cultivating the affections of good men, and in the practice of the domestic virtues." Again, a few weeks later: "I am just beginning to experience that ease and freedom from public cares, which, however desirable, takes some time to realize; for strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless true, that it was not till lately I could get the better of my usual custom of ruminating as soon as I waked in the morning, on the business of the ensuing day, and of my surprise at finding, after revolving many things in my mind, that I was no longer a

public man, nor had any thing to do with public transactions." And to M. de Lafayette :—" At length, my dear marquis, I am become a private citizen on the banks of the Potomac ; and under the shadow of my own vine and my own fig-tree, free from the bustle of a camp, and the busy scenes of public life, I am solacing myself with tranquil enjoyments. * * * I have not only retired from all public employments, but I am retiring within myself, and shall be able to view the solitary walk, and tread the paths of private life with a heartfelt satisfaction. Envious of none, I am determined to be pleased with all ; and this, my dear friend, being the order for my march, I will move gently down the stream of life, until I sleep with my fathers."

The feeling which Washington expressed when he wrote in this strain of language, was not the mere momentary impression of the pleasure of repose after protracted toil, or of liberty after severe servitude. The active and peaceful life of a large land-owner—occupations so full of interest and yet so void of care—domestic power attended by no jarring controversies or arduous responsibility—the fair alliance between the mind of man and the fertility of nature—hospitality heartfelt and simple—the noble pleasures of respectability and beneficence obtained without effort,—such were assuredly his tastes, such the unvarying predilection of his heart. He would probably have chosen this mode of life—and he enjoyed it, enhanced by all the gifts of a nation's gratitude and of imperishable fame, sweet though importunate.

The President and etiquette :

Even in matters of pure formality, however foreign to the habits of his life, he was enlightened and guided by that tact and instinctive sense of propriety which also rank amongst the conditions of statesmanship. Upon his election, the ceremonial etiquette, which was to be observed towards the person of the President, became a serious topic of debate between the two parties. Many of the federalists, avowed partisans of the precedents and the splendor of monarchy, exulted when they succeeded, at a ball, in placing a sofa raised above the floor by two steps, which was reserved for Washington and his wife. Many of the democrats regarded these displays and the public levees of the President as signs of the premeditated return of tyranny ; and they were indignant at the stiff and slight bow with which he received those who waited upon him at a fixed time in his own house. Washington smiled alike at the exultation of the former and the apprehensions of the latter, whilst he persevered in the very modest regulations which he had laid down :

" If I were to give indulgence to my inclinations, every moment that I could withdraw from the fatigue of my station, should be spent in retirement. That it is not, proceeds from the sense I entertain of the propriety of giving to every one as free access as consists with that respect which is due to the chair of government ; and that respect is neither to be acquired nor preserved but by observing a just medium between much state and too much familiarity."

These extracts may suffice to show with what a fine sympathy and confident power M. Guizot had studied the history and qualities of a fore-

most man; one who was on all occasions equal to exigencies of unsurpassed magnitude and complexity. Our next and last specimen will exhibit the nature of the President's balancing policy, in spite of the passions and prejudices of his friends and the arts of his adversaries; in some degree also it will show the principles of the author's political creed; and at the same time furnish the reader with two striking portraits.

Washington is called on to form a cabinet, which office he undertakes merely because he is convinced that he can serve his country; and in summoning four men to join him, observes the most strict impartiality, choosing two of federal principles, of whom Hamilton is the chief; and two of the democratic party, Jefferson being the principal on this side. There seem to have been the same rules and modes adopted by the President in dealing with men and parties who were opposed to one another, that there were amid conflicting events or complicated affairs; that is, those of truth and rectitude; and in this way that illustrious character displayed his consummate wisdom as well as stern virtue. The sketch of the real leaders of the two parties mentioned, and of the President's position between them, must close this paper:

Hamilton deserves to be ranked amongst the men who have best understood the vital principles and fundamental conditions of government—not of a hap-hazard government, but of a government worthy of its task and of the name. There is not one element of order, strength and durability in the constitution of the United States, which he did not powerfully contribute to introduce into the scheme, and cause to be adopted. Perhaps he thought that the monarchical was preferable to the republican form: perhaps he sometimes doubted of the success of the experiment which was being tried in his country: perhaps too he was carried away by the liveliness of his imagination and the logical ardor of his understanding, till his views sometimes became exclusive, his deductions extreme. But no less lofty in character than in intellect, he served the commonwealth with faithful zeal, and labored to found, not to enfeeble it. His superiority consisted in knowing that naturally, and by the essential law of things, political power stands aloft, at the head of society; that according to this law it ought to be established; and that all systems and all attempts of a contrary tendency, must ultimately carry disturbance and debility into society itself. His mistake was to adhere too closely, with somewhat too much of arrogance and obstinacy, to the model of the English constitution; to attach an equal authority to the good and to the bad portions of that model, to its principles and to its abuses; and not to make sufficient allowance for, nor to trust with sufficient confidence to the variety of political forms or the flexibility of human society. There are times at which political genius consists in not dreading what is new, as well as in respecting what is eternal.

The democratic party, not I mean of the rude and turbulent democracy of antiquity or of the middle ages, but of the great democracy of the modern world, has no more faithful or eminent representative than Jefferson. A warm friend of humanity, of freedom, and of science; confiding in their virtue no less than in their right; deeply affected by

the injuries which the mass of men have suffered, by the hardships they endure, and constantly engaged, with laudable disinterestedness, in the attempt to repair the evil or to avert the recurrence of it; tolerating the authority of government as a necessity to be viewed with distrust—almost as an evil contrived to check another evil, and endeavoring not only to restrain but to lower it; mistrusting all greatness and all personal splendor as the harbinger of usurpation; in heart, frank, kind and indulgent, though apt to take up prejudices and animosities against the opponents of his party; in mind, bold, quick, ingenious and inquiring, more remarkable for penetration than for foresight, but too sensible to carry things to extremes, and able to meet urgent evils and dangers, by summoning up a degree of prudence and firmness, which, if earlier and more generally exerted, might perhaps have prevented them.

It was no easy task to make these two men act together in the same cabinet. The very critical state of affairs at the outset of the constitution, and the impartial preponderance of Washington, could alone accomplish it. He applied himself to this purpose with consummate perseverance and sagacity. At bottom, he entertained a decided preference for Hamilton and his principles. "By some he is considered as an ambitious man; and therefore a dangerous one. That he is ambitious, I shall readily grant, but it is of that laudable kind which prompts a man to excel in whatever he takes in hand. He is enterprising, quick in his perceptions, and his judgment intuitively great."

But it was not till 1798, in the freedom of his retirement, that Washington held this explicit language. As long as he was at the head of affairs, and between his two secretaries of state, he observed an extreme reserve towards them, and gave them equal marks of his confidence. He thought them both sincere and able men; both necessary to the country and to himself. Jefferson not only furnished him with a sort of tie, a means of influence over the popular party, which soon afterwards became the opposition; but Washington availed himself of his opinions as a counterpoise to the tendencies, and especially to the expressions of Hamilton and his friends, which were sometimes exaggerated and intemperate. He was in the habit of conversing with, and consulting them apart on the affairs which were to be debated between them in common, in order to remove or to lessen the causes of dissension beforehand. He knew how to use the merits or the popularity of each of them with their own party, so as to redound to the general advantage of the government, and even to their mutual benefit. He adroitly seized every opportunity of involving them in a common responsibility: and when a rupture appeared to be the inevitable result of too deep dissensions or over-excited passions, he interposed, he exhorted, he entreated, and by his personal influence, by a frank and touching appeal to the patriotism and the good feelings of the two rivals, at least he retarded the eruption of the evil which he could not cure.

ARTICLE IX.

RUSSIAN EXPEDITIONS ON THE POLAR SEA.

From the London Quarterly Review, September, 1840.

Narrative of an Expedition to the Polar Sea, in the years 1820—21—22—23. Commanded by Lieutenant—now Admiral—Ferdinand von Wrangell, of the Russian Imperial Navy. Edited by Major Edward Sabine, R. A. F. R. S. London: 8vo. 1840.

WE are no strangers to the enterprising character, or to the spirited exertions of von Wrangell; they have been occasionally glanced at by us long before the appearance of the present volume, which, late as it comes forth, at least in its present shape, we hail with peculiar pleasure for many reasons, but chiefly on account of the strong resemblance between the Baron's labors along the Siberian coast of the Polar Sea, and those of Franklin, Richardson, Back, Dease and Simpson, on the American coast of the same sea; we may also add, of the striking similarity between Parry's attempt to reach the North Pole, and the three or four attempts of the Baron on the ice of the same sea, though with different objects; that of the latter being to ascertain the existence, or otherwise, of a supposed continent or large island far to the north. Lastly, we are pleased to find that our sentiments accord with those opinions so well expressed by Major Sabine, in his preface to the work:

Whether we view M. von Wrangell's narrative as an authentic account of a portion of the globe and of its inhabitants, hitherto but very imperfectly known;—or as a personal relation of difficulties encountered and privations borne in a spirit which England cherishes in its own officers, and is not slow to value in others;—or finally, as an essential portion of the history of ARCTIC DISCOVERY, in which our own country has taken so prominent a part;—in each, and in all of these respects, it has a claim on the attention and interests of British readers.

The facts and circumstances made known by an expedition which was engaged during three years in geographical researches, extending over fifty degrees of longitude of the coasts of the Polar Sea, must in many instances bear, by a close analogy, on reasonings connected with the yet unexplored portion of the arctic circle: and they do so particularly in respect to that part, which has been, and still continues to be, the theatre of British enterprise. *Pref.* pp. 4, 5.

We may premise that the account was drawn up in the German language by M. Engelhardt, from the journals and papers of M. von Wrangell and the other officers of the expedition, and published last year in Berlin. The present translation is highly creditable to a fair lady, the wife of Major

Sabine; and she has judiciously curtailed it by the omission of meteorological tables, and details of astronomical and magnetical observations, the results of which appear in the narrative, and are all that the general reader requires.

In an introduction of 137 pages, von Wrangell has given a concise history of the various efforts made by Russia to explore the coast of the Polar Ocean, from the middle of the sixteenth century downwards,—some under the sanction of government, and others by private individual adventurers, attracted mostly by the hope of large profits to be derived from a trade in the costly furs of the animals with which those regions abound, and which are found along the whole extent of sea-coast, from the White Sea to Behring's Straits. This extent of coast embraces about 145 degrees of longitude, and, as the Baron says, "has been discovered, surveyed and described by Russians," or, we may add, by others under the auspices of the Russian government. These surveys were made very much in the manner pursued by our own explorers on the polar shores of America.

One great object of the Baron's four years' employment on the Siberian coast was to rectify the errors of the coast-line, much of which, he says, remained in complete obscurity—the whole coast from Cape Schelagskoi to Cape North being nearly, if not entirely, unknown; "whilst, on the other hand, the memorable researches of Parry and Franklin had led to the most exact examination and description of the northern coast of America." The second and more important object was to remove the doubts respecting a large country supposed to be situated to the northward of Kotelnoi and New Siberia. To fill up these blanks, and remove these doubts in the geography of his country, the Emperor Alexander ordered two expeditions to be fitted out by the naval department, which were accordingly equipped and ready in 1820.

A lieutenant of the navy was placed at the head of each, who was to be accompanied by two junior officers, a medical officer, who was likewise to be a naturalist, and two sailors. One of these expeditions, under Lieutenant Anjou, was to commence its operations from the mouth of the Jana; the other, under my command, from the mouth of the Kolyma. My companions were, Midshipman (now Captain-Lieutenant) Matiuschkin, the Mate Kosmin, Dr. Kyber, and two seamen, one of whom was a smith, the other a carpenter. pp. 135, 136.

We rejoice to find that the Lieutenant von Wrangell of 1820, has now attained the rank of Admiral, and Matiuschkin, the Midshipman, that of Captain-Lieutenant. Such promotion had been well deserved by both. Of Lieutenant Anjou's expedition no account would seem to have yet been published; but it appears from the chart, that the course of his expeditions in 1822 and 1823, one from the Lena, and the other from the Jana, much exceeded in extent any of von Wrangell's, the former having reached the latitude of $76\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and passed round the whole of the New Siberian islands.

Von Wrangell left St. Petersburg on the 23d of May, 1820, and proceeded, according to his orders, to the mouth of the river Kolyma, of which district and its inhabitants he gives an interesting description. It is

not easy to understand how any human beings can contrive to exist in this region, where, from the beginning of October till the end of April, the temperature rarely, if ever, rises to the freezing point, and in January falls to 65° below zero; frequently stands at -50° to -57° ;—where in the early part of September even the temperature has been as low as -47° . In such a climate vegetation is so languid and scanty that it can hardly be said to exist at all. This poverty, however, of the vegetable world, is strongly contrasted with the profusion and variety of animal life over these inhospitable shores, and on the ice of the Polar Sea.

Countless herds of reindeer, elks, black bears, foxes, sables and grey squirrels fill the upland forests; stone foxes and wolves roam over the low grounds. Enormous flights of swans, geese and ducks arrive in spring, and seek deserts where they may moult and build their nests in safety. Eagles, owls and gulls pursue their prey along the sea-coast; ptarmigan run in troops among the bushes; little snipes are busy along the brooks, and in the morasses; the social crows seek the neighborhood of men's habitations; and, when the sun shines in spring, one may even sometimes hear the cheerful note of the finch, and in autumn, that of the thrush. p. 52.

These animals, the Baron observes, either visit or inhabit the ice deserts in obedience to the unerring laws of instinct; they have no choice to exercise. "But," he asks, "what induced man to fix himself in this dreary region? Nomade races under milder skies wander from one fruitful region to another,—gradually forget the land of their birth, and prefer a new home; but here there is nothing to invite: endless snows and ice-covered rocks bound the horizon; nature lies shrouded in almost perpetual winter; and life is a continual conflict with privation, and with the terrors of cold and hunger." What, indeed, could induce human beings to take up their abode in such a region? The answer is, *necessity* in most cases—*avarice* in others. For the former class there is no want of food or clothing. The summer, as it is called, affords them an ample supply of fish and fowl, of reindeer and other esculent animals. In the commencement of autumn, shoals of herrings enter the rivers in such quantities, that 3000 or more, it is said, may be taken at a draught, and in three or four days, 40,000 head, by a single good net; and when, to the resources already enumerated, we add the numerous fur-bearing animals, we see sufficient inducement for avarice, as well as poverty, to seek for an abode in these regions of frost and snow. The natives are permanently settled, but the few Russian traders in the valuable furs come only occasionally at the proper seasons. "I have lived here," says the Baron, "through three such dreadful springs. I cannot now look back without shuddering to the scenes of misery which I have witnessed, but which I may not venture to describe." He does, however, describe some of them, and very well too; but for the details we must refer our readers to the volume.

There is another article of commerce of too interesting and curious a nature to be passed over,—we allude to the enormous quantity of animal remains, and especially those of the mammoth, a species of elephant dif-

fering from those now existing on our globe; the ivory of which, buried as it must have been for thousands of years, is as sound and perfect as that supplied by the tusk of the living animal. The multitude of these huge remains, together with the bones of a great variety of other animals that are found along the northern shore of Siberia, and on the numerous islands of the Polar Ocean, buried in masses of ice, and in the frozen mud-banks of the rivers, near their mouths, is almost beyond belief. The traveller here may indeed say, in the words of our new Poetess "V——,"

" I saw the old world's white and wave-swept bones,
A giant heap of creatures that had been;
Far and confus'd the broken skeletons
Lay strewn beyond mine eye's remotest ken."

Hederström, who was ordered to visit the islands, of which New Siberia is one, situated between 74° and 76° of latitude, and opposite to the Cape Swatainos (or the Sacred Cape), paid great attention to these remains.

According to his account, says von Wrangell, these bones or tusks are less large and heavy the further we advance towards the north, so that it is a rare occurrence on the islands to meet with a tusk of more than three pood in weight, whereas on the continent, they are said often to weigh as much as twelve pood.* In quantity, however, these bones increase wonderfully to the northward, and, as Sannikow expresses himself, *the whole soil of the first of the Lāchow Islands appears to consist of them*. For about eighty years the fur-hunters have every year brought large cargoes from this island, but as yet there is no sensible diminution of the stock. The tusks on the islands are also much more fresh and white than those of the continent. A sand-bank on the western side was the most productive of all, and the fur hunters maintain, that when the sea recedes after a long continuance of easterly winds, a fresh supply of mammoth-bones is always found to have been washed upon this bank, proceeding apparently from some vast store at the bottom of the sea. *Intro. pp. 132, 133.*

In addition to the mammoth and those of common occurrence, we are told the remains of two other unknown animals are occasionally found along the shore of the Polar Ocean: one, supposed by Dr. Kyber, the naturalist, to be a species of rhinoceros, the other a reindeer. In the northern islands above mentioned, Sannikow, another Russian explorer,

found the skulls and bones of horses, buffaloes, oxen and sheep, in such abundance, that these animals must formerly have lived there in large herds. At present, however, the icy wilderness produces nothing that could afford them nourishment, nor would they be able to endure the climate. Sannikow concludes that a milder climate must formerly have prevailed here, and that these animals may therefore have been contemporary with the mammoth, whose remains are found in every part of

* That is from 108 lbs. to 432 lbs.

the island. Another circumstance, whence he infers a change in the climate, is the frequent occurrence, here, as well as in the island of New Siberia, of large trees partially fossilized. p. 129.

That these animals may have been contemporary with the mammoth is exceedingly probable, but the large "fossilized trees" must have been, we presume, the production of a more remote era. But if those here mentioned, "required a milder climate," how must it have fared with the elephant? This "change of climate" has long been a *questio vexata*, and various conjectures have been hazarded to account for the apparently recent and fresh appearance of the tusks of this animal,—so recent that the entire skeleton of one dug out of a mass of ice at the mouth of the Lena was sent to Petersburg, where it is still preserved in the Imperial Museum with the hair on the skin, a part of which was exhibited at the house of Sir Joseph Banks, in London.

The fanciful Buffon was willing to suppose that the stroke of a comet might have deranged the ancient and original structure of the earth, and produced the order of things as we now find them. On the other hand, some philosophers (but not astronomers) have amused themselves with imagining that the poles of the earth have been shoved out of their former position, and have changed places with the equator. However, although some of our modern sages are hardy enough to deny the fact of a general deluge having taken place—it is a fact for which we have the clear and distinct authority of Scripture, corroborated by the records or the traditions of all nations of antiquity, and further confirmed by the actual appearance of the surface of the earth itself; and we venture to hold by the opinion that the flooded earth swept the remains in question away down with the departing waters to the places where they are now found. Cuvier agrees with De Luc and others, who maintain that the impulse of an ocean upturned from its bed, rolling impetuously over the land, carrying every thing before it, might well be more than sufficient to roll the dead carcasses of the mammoth to the North Pole.

The flood of water to the north is manifested by the slope of the earth's surface towards that quarter, and the general direction of all the rivers which flow into the Polar Sea, in Asiatic Siberia and North America. Still there is a difficulty, more especially as regards the climate wherein the elephant is now found to exist; for the highest fountain heads of these rivers are not in a lower degree of latitude than 50° , about which the division of the waters commences on the northern side of the crossing ridge of mountains. This is a difficulty which our philosophy will not solve; but a firm reliance on the facts stated in the sacred Scriptures will: we are there told that "all the high hills that were under the whole heaven were covered—and the mountains were covered."

The Baron Cuvier, whose researches were pursued with a vigor and strength of mind that entitle the conclusions drawn from them to the greatest weight—satisfied himself that the flood of Noah, as described by Moses, took place about the time usually assigned—that is to say, from

five to six thousand years ago; and he says of this great catastrophe, that,

In the northern regions it has left the carcasses of some large quadrupeds which the ice had arrested, and which are preserved, even to the present day, with their skin, their hair, and their flesh. If they had not been frozen as soon as killed, they must quickly have been decomposed by putrefaction. *Theory of the Earth.*

Closely as all the geographical features in the character of the Asiatic and American coasts of the Polar Ocean resemble each other, we are not aware that any remains of diluvian animals have been discovered on the American side, with the single exception of the tusks and other relics of the elephant, which were found by Kotzebue on the eastern shore of Behring's Strait. These were stated by him to have been imbedded in an iceberg; but Captain Beechey afterwards visited the spot, and found a great number of large tusks and other remains, not however imbedded in an iceberg, but buried in beds of frozen clay, intermixed with masses of ice, apparently the debris of the adjoining headland. America, we all know, has its *fossil* remains of mammoths, mastodons, and megatherions, which are found in the Big-bone Licks of Kentucky, also in the neighborhood of the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri; but we are not aware that, with the exception just mentioned, any diluvian remains of the elephant genus have been discovered on the continent of America; and those of Behring's Strait may probably have been floated thither on the ice from the shores of Siberia.

But to return to M. von Wrangell; he reached the Kolyma at the commencement of the winter, and just in time to experience the full enjoyment of a long polar night, succeeded by the increased severity of the spring; notwithstanding which, the natives pursue their occupations of hunting the reindeer and the elk, on sledges drawn by dogs, and setting their traps for foxes, sables and squirrels.

Of all the animals, says the Baron, that live in the high northern latitudes, none are so deserving of being noticed as the dog. The companion of man in all climates, from the South Sea, where he feeds on bananas, to the Polar Sea, where his food is fish; he there plays a part to which he is unaccustomed in more favored regions. Necessity has taught the inhabitants of the northern countries to employ these comparatively weak animals in draught.

Indeed, without the assistance of these intelligent and interesting creatures, M. von Wrangell never could have attempted his excursions over the ice of the Polar Sea; and, what is more, without their extraordinary exertions when in imminent danger, he never could have returned alive.

These dogs are said to resemble the wolf; to have long, pointed, projecting noses, sharp and upright ears, and long bushy tails; color various, black, brown, reddish-brown, white and spotted. They vary also in size; but a good sledge-dog should not be less than two feet seven

inches high, and three feet nine inches in length. Their howling is that of a wolf. In summer, they dig holes in the ground for coolness, or lie in the water to escape the mosquitoes, which, in those regions, are not less troublesome than one of Pharaoh's plagues; in winter, they burrow in the snow, and lie curled up, with their noses covered by their bushy tails.

The preparation of these animals for a journey is carefully to be attended to: for a fortnight at least they should be put on a small allowance of hard food, to convert their superfluous fat into firm flesh; they are also to be driven from ten to twenty miles daily; after which, von Wrangell says, they have been known to travel a hundred miles a day without being injured by it. "We drove ours," he says, "sometimes at the rate of 100 wersts (66 miles) a-day." Their usual food is fresh frozen fish, thawed and cut in pieces; and ten good frozen herrings are said to be a proper daily allowance for each dog. A team consists commonly of twelve dogs; and it is of importance they should be accustomed to draw together. The foremost sledge has usually one additional dog, which has been trained, as a leader. On the sagacity and docility of this leader mainly depends the quick and steady going of the team, as well as the safety of the traveller. No pains are therefore spared in his education; so that he may understand and obey his master's orders, and prevent the rest from starting off in pursuit of white bears and stone-foxes which frequent the ice of the Polar Sea.

On such occasions, says von Wrangell, we have sometimes had to admire the cleverness with which the well-trained leader endeavors to turn the other dogs from their pursuit. If other devices fail, he will suddenly wheel round, and, by barking, as if he had come on a new scent, try to induce the other dogs to follow him.

We are now prepared to accompany the Baron, with his dogs and sledges, over the icy sea. These journeys are of course necessarily made in the winter, or early spring; and the following brief description will convey some idea of what the winter was, about the mouth of the Kolyma, at the commencement of the new year.

The noonday sun, which ought to have been just visible above the horizon, was intercepted by the ice and snow-hills, which bound the plain; a gray mist lay heavy on the snow-covered surface; the sky became of a whitish color, and the cold increased on the 3d and 4th of January to -55° , and on the 5th the thermometer stood for twenty-four hours at -57° . Breathing became difficult, and the panes of ice in the windows cracked. Though sitting close to a large fire, we were not able to lay aside any part of our fur clothing; and when I wanted to write, I had to keep the inkstand in hot water. At night, when the fire was allowed to go out for a short time, our bed-clothes were always covered with a thick snow-like rime, and my guest, in particular, always complained in the morning of his nose being frozen. p. 86.

The first journey was little more than an experimental one, chiefly to

survey the line of coast to the eastward, which had hitherto been imperfectly done. The part of the coast between the Kolyma and Cape Schellagskoi is stated to be wholly uninhabited; on one side, the occasional excursions of the Russians terminate at the Baranow rocks; and on the other the Tschutschli do not cross the larger Baranow river. The intervening eighty wersts (fifty-three English miles) of coast are not even visited by either party, but considered as neutral ground. The latter people have contrived to preserve their independence, even of Russia, and are in possession of immense herds of reindeer, which they use for the double purpose of food and draught, and by means of which they are enabled to pursue and procure other animals for their own use and for sale in the interior. On a subsequent journey, M. von Wrangell extended his progress almost to the extremity of the coast of the Tschutschli, or, to Behring's Strait. Nine sledges, with the usual teams of twelve dogs to each, were provided for the present excursion, six of which were to carry provisions and stores to be distributed in different depots, and then to return. The provisions for the dogs consisted of 2400 frozen fresh herrings, and as much of what is called *jukola* as was equivalent to 8150 dried herrings. The loading of each sledge was in weight about 900 pounds.

On the 22d of February, the party started from the mouth of the Kolyma, and drove rapidly over the smooth ice along the sea-coast, at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour. On the third day a heavy fall of snow greatly incommoded them, and the intense frost, acting on the surface of the snow, increased not a little the difficulty of their progress.

The increasing cold and violent wind made travelling very difficult. To guard the dogs from being frozen, the drivers were obliged to put clothing on their bodies, and a kind of boots on their feet, which greatly impeded their running; and the intense frost had rendered the snow loose and granular, so that the sledge-runners no longer glided smoothly over the surface.

There was no possibility of using the astronomical instruments. The mercury of the artificial horizon did not absolutely freeze, but it became crystallized. The chronometers stopped, the cold having congealed the oil in spite of every precaution. The following description will show in what manner the nights were passed on the ice of the Polar Sea in their tent:

Between tea and supper the sledge-drivers went out to attend and feed their dogs, which were always tied up for the night, lest they should be tempted away by the scent of some wild animal. Meanwhile we were engaged in comparing our observations, and in laying down in the map the ground which we had gone over in the course of the day; the severe cold, and the smoke which usually filled the tent, sometimes made this no easy task. Supper always consisted of a single dish, soup, either of fish or meat (as long as we had any of the latter). It was boiled for us all in the same kettle out of which it was eaten. Soon after we had finished our meal, the whole party lay down to sleep; on account of the cold we could not lay aside any part of our travelling

dress, but we regularly changed our boots and stockings every evening, and hung those we had taken off, with our fur caps and gloves, on the tent-poles to dry. This is an essential precaution, particularly in respect to stockings, for with damp clothing there is the greatest risk of the part being frozen. We always spread the bear-skins between the frozen ground and ourselves, and the fur-coverings over us, and being well tired, we usually slept very soundly. As long as the sledge-drivers continued with us, we were so crowded that we had to place ourselves like the spokes of a wheel, with our feet towards the fire and our heads against the tent wall. In the morning we generally rose at six, lit the fire, and washed ourselves before it with fresh snow; we then took tea, and immediately afterwards dinner (which was similar to the supper of the night before). The tent was then struck, and every thing packed and stowed on the sledges; and at nine we usually took our departure. This arrangement was adhered to throughout the present journey. pp. 99, 100.

The doubling of Cape Schelagskoi was hard work: to ascend icebergs ninety feet high, and to descend them, was a task of fatigue, and of risk to the sledges, the dogs, and themselves. Sometimes they had to wade up to their waists through loose drifted snow, and at others over smooth ice covered with sharp crystallized salt, which made the draught so heavy, that they were obliged to assist the dogs, by harnessing themselves also to the sledges; and even so it was a hard matter to tug on. By this time they had deposited most of their provisions, and sent back six sledges; and there only remained three days' provisions for the men and dogs attached to the three remaining sledges.

"However," says von Wrangell, "I decided on going sufficiently far to judge of the general trending of this part of the coast, which was supposed, according to Burney's well known views, to form an isthmus, connecting Asia with America."

At this time we had not demolished in our journal, as we soon afterwards had occasion to do, this strange crotchet, broached by the admiral, who, having himself sailed through Behring's Strait in Captain Cook's ship, ought to have known better.

The expedition did not reach further to the eastward than about forty miles beyond the above-mentioned cape, when they discovered that their provisions were exhausted, and that nothing remained but to make the best of their way back to the Kolyma. Fortunately, on their return, they found their fourth and last deposit of provisions undisturbed, for every scrap taken with them had now been consumed. Subsequently, however, they were less lucky. At the three other deposits, in spite of the precautions taken, nothing remained but fish-bones; and the numerous traces of stone-foxes and wolverines sufficiently pointed out the depredators; so that both themselves and the dogs were obliged to go without food for the last two days of their return journey, which they finished on the 14th March, having been absent twenty-two days, and having travelled 750 miles, being an average of thirty-four miles a day, including stoppages.

On the 2d March, the Baron says :

We saw this evening an Aurora of extraordinary beauty. The sky was clear and cloudless, and the stars sparkled in their fullest arctic brilliancy. With a light breeze from the N. E. there rose in the E. N. E. a great column of light, from which rays extended over the sky in the direction of the wind, in broad and brilliant bands, which appeared to approach us whilst they varied continually in form. From the rapidity with which the rays shot through the whole space from the horizon to the zenith, in less than two seconds, the Aurora appeared to be nearer to us than the ordinary height of the clouds. We could perceive no effect on the compass-needle. p. 107.

In another place, he observes, that

Even during the most brilliant Auroras, we could never perceive any considerable noise ; but in such cases we did hear a slight hissing sound, as when the wind blows on a flame.

It is remarkable enough that concerning an atmospheric phenomenon so very striking, and so common in northern latitudes, it should still appear to be a matter of doubt whether it is ever attended with a noise of any kind. The majority of writers are in favor of its being accompanied with sounds of one kind or other, in which they are supported by the resident natives of the several northern countries. Dr. Henderson says, that when the Aurora in Iceland is particularly quick and vivid, a crackling noise is heard, resembling that of sparks from an electrical machine. Sir Charles Gieseke states, that in Greenland, when very low, the Auroras were much agitated, and "a rushing and crackling sound was heard like that of an electric spark, or of falling hail." Hearne, on the northern shores of America, heard them making a rushing and crackling noise, "like the waving of a large flag in a gale of wind." Gmelin, on the coast of the Polar Sea, says : "the streams of brilliant light crackle, hiss, make a whistling sound, and a noise equal to that of artificial fireworks." Parry, on the other hand, says : "that in the Polar Sea, it was never attended with the least crackling or rustling noise ;" and Franklin and his officers, on the shores of the sea, say the same thing, even when the changes were most vivid, and the coruscations most rapid. Mr. Dalton and others had supposed the Aurora to be beyond the region of the atmosphere, where, we presume, no modification of electricity could exist or sound be produced ; but Franklin and his officers, by taking angles at two distant places, and at the same moment, satisfied themselves that an Aurora was not higher than six or seven miles ; and they frequently observed it beneath the clouds. Finally, the servants of the Hudson Bay Company all agree in its making a rustling noise, and being frequently very near the earth's surface.

How are we to reconcile these discrepancies ? In the same way, perhaps, as the umpire decided in the dispute about the color of the chamelion—

"They all are right—they all are wrong."

The several parties have, we conclude, viewed the Aurora under different circumstances,—some, when vivid, rapid and strong; others when sluggish, slow and languid; in the former case when not far from the earth; in the latter, when moving slowly at a great distance, through a highly attenuated atmosphere. In short, we cannot take the negative evidence against the positive affirmations of so many shrewd and sensible persons.

During the intervals of the summer months von Wrangell made various excursions into the interior of Siberia, which, affording little more than what other travellers have described, will not require much notice from us. The visit of von Matiuschkin to the fair of Ostrownoje, frequented by large numbers of the Tschutschi, contains some curious information respecting the habits and character of this singular race, who appear to be of Tartar origin, and partake not in the least of the Esquimaux character. The following short extract will, nevertheless, prove that they fully deserve the appellation of savages.

Polygamy is general amongst them, and they change their wives as often as they please. Still, though the women are certainly slaves, they are allowed more influence, and are subjected to less labor than among any other savages. Amongst other heathenish and detestable customs is the inhuman act of killing all deformed children, and even all those who appear difficult to rear, and all their old people, as soon as they become unfit for the fatigues and hardships of a nomade life. Two years ago there was an instance of this in the case of one of their richest and most respected chiefs. Waletka's father became infirm and tired of life, and was put to death at his own express desire by one of his nearest relations. p. 122.

We have some notices of those wild terrific ministers of evil, the Schamans, which are not without interest. Their power over the people is unlimited. A sudden and violent disease had carried off a great number of persons, and also whole herds of reindeer. In vain the Schamans had recourse to their usual conjurations, drummings and jumpings; the plague was not stayed. They consulted together, and directed that one of their most respected chiefs, named Kotschen, must be sacrificed, to appease the irritated spirit. Kotschen was willing to submit to the sentence, but none could be found to execute it; until, the sickness continuing to rage, "his own son, prevailed on by his father's exhortations, and terrified by his threatened curse, plunged a knife into his heart, and gave the body to the Schamans." Our traveller says these Schamans have no fixed dogmas of any kind; no system handed down from one to another; and that, wide as the superstitious influence is spread, it seems to originate with each individual separately. He says:

Certain individuals are born with ardent imagination and excitable nerves. They grow up amidst a general belief in ghosts, Schamans, and mysterious powers exercised by the latter. The youth receives strong impressions, and desires to obtain a part in these supernatural communications and powers. No one can teach him how to do so.

His imagination is worked upon by solitude, the contemplation of the gloomy aspect of surrounding nature, long vigils, fasts, the use of narcotics and stimulants, until he becomes persuaded that he too has seen the apparitions which he has heard of from his boyhood. He is then received as a Schaman, with many ceremonies, which are held in the silence of the night, and he is given the magic drum, &c. Still all his actions continue to be the result of his individual character. A true Schaman is not a cool and ordinary deceiver, but a psychological phenomenon, well deserving of attention. Whenever I have seen them operate, they have left me with long continued and gloomy impressions. The wild look, the blood-shot eyes, the laboring chest, and the convulsive utterance, the seemingly involuntary distortion of the face and the whole body, the streaming hair, even the hollow sound of the drum, all contributed to the effect; and I can well understand that the whole should appear to the uncivilized spectator as the work of evil spirits. pp. 123, 124.

As a striking contrast with these half-mad impostors, the Baron gives the description of a venerable pastor he met with at a small village of the Jakuti, on the banks of the Indigirka:

Poor as this place is, it has one feature which renders it well deserving of notice in the person of the clergyman, who is known far and wide by the name of Father Michel. At the time of our visit he was eighty-seven years of age, and had passed about sixty years here as deacon and as priest, during which time he has not only baptised 15,000 Jakuti, Tungusi and Jukahiri, but has really made them acquainted with the leading truths of Christianity; and the fruits of his doctrine, his example and his counsels are visible in their great moral improvement. Such is the zeal of this truly venerable man for the extension of the gospel among the inhabitants of these snowy wastes, that neither his great age, nor the severity of the climate, nor the countless other difficulties of the country prevent his still riding above 2000 wersts a year, in order to baptise the new-born children of his widely-scattered flock, and to perform the other duties of his sacred calling; as well as to assist his people in every way he can, as minister, as teacher, as friend and adviser, and even as physician. pp. 36, 37.

The second journey was wholly on the ice of the North Polar Sea. It commenced on the 26th March, with a temperature of $+ 21^{\circ}$, or 11° below freezing. The caravan consisted of twenty-two sledges, laden with fuel and provisions for thirty days, including food for 240 dogs; the weight of each sledge, on an average, being thirty *pood*, or 1080 pounds. It was hoped the number of bears to be met with on the ice might supply any deficiency in the quantity of food for the dogs, though it is stated they will not eat the flesh while warm. Leaving the Baranow rocks, and proceeding in a northerly direction, two days brought them in sight of what appeared at first to be high land, which soon after decreased in height, and finally disappeared altogether: thus raising a suspicion in the party that "they had only been deceived by one of the optical illusions so

common in the Polar Sea." At length, however, it was discovered to be a low island, on which they observed first three and then four pillars, consisting of sundry horizontal layers of granitic porphyry. The highest measured forty-eight feet, and ninety-one feet in circumference at the base. "The form is something like the body of a man, with a sort of cap or turban on his head, but without arms or legs." They named this land the "Four-pillar Island;" but it was believed to be the easternmost of the Bear islands which had heretofore been visited.

Proceeding northward to lat. $71^{\circ} 31'$ they measured the thickness of the ice, by means of a hole, and ascertained it to be about a foot, very rotten and full of salt; the soundings twelve fathoms, with a bottom of soft green mud. Advancing about twelve miles further, they found themselves on what might be called "a deep salt moor," over which it was impossible to cross. "I examined," says the Baron, "the ice beneath the brine, and found it only five inches thick, and so rotten that it was easily cut through with a common knife." Escaping from a place so fraught with danger, at the distance of a mile or two from it, they again examined the state of the ice, and found it only one foot two inches thick. Proceeding hence to some inconsiderable hummocks, the thickness of the ice was found to be the same as before. Here the water gushed through the holes that were made, and imparted its bitter taste to the snow:

Meanwhile the north wind increased in strength, and must have raised a considerable sea in the open water, as we heard the sound of the agitated element beneath, and felt the undulatory motion of the thin crust of ice. Our position was at least an anxious one; the more so, as we could take no step to avoid the impending danger. I believe few of our party slept except the dogs, who alone were unconscious of the great probability of the ice being broken up by the force of the waves. Our latitude was $71^{\circ} 37'$ and our longitude $1^{\circ} 45' E.$ from Sucharņoje. In the morning we had a clouded sky, damp snow, and a temperature of $+16^{\circ}$, with a gale from the north: in the evening the wind moderated and shifted to N. E., the sky cleared, and the thermometer showed $+9^{\circ}$.

As soon as the wind fell and the weather cleared, I had two of the best sledges emptied, and placed in them provisions for twenty-four hours, with the boat and oars, some poles and boards, and proceeded northwards, to examine the state of the ice; directing M. von Matiuschkin, in case of danger, to retire with the whole party as far as might be needful, without awaiting my return.

After driving through the thick brine with much difficulty for seven wersts, we came to a number of large fissures, which we passed with some trouble by the aid of the boards which we had brought with us. The ice was heaped up in several places in little mounds or hillocks, which, at the slightest touch, sunk into a kind of slough. This rotten ice was hardly a foot thick; the sea was twelve fathoms deep, the ground green mud; the countless fissures in every direction, through which the sea water came up, mixed with a quantity of earth and mud; the little hillocks above described, and the water streaming amongst them, all gave to the field of ice the appearance of a great morass, over which we contrived to advance two wersts further to the north, cross-

ing the narrower fissures, and going round the larger ones. At last they became so numerous and so wide that it was hard to say whether the sea beneath us was really still covered by a connected coat of ice, or only by a number of detached floating fragments, having everywhere two or more feet of water between them. A single gust of wind would have been sufficient to drive these fragments against each other, and being already thoroughly saturated with water, they would have sunk in a few minutes, leaving nothing but sea on the spot where we were standing. It was manifestly useless to attempt going further; we hastened to rejoin our companions, and to seek with them a place of greater security. Our most northern latitude was $71^{\circ} 43'$; we were at a distance of 215 wersts, in a straight line from the lesser Baranow rock. pp. 144, 145.

Here the Baron notices the remarkable skill of the sledge-drivers in the direction of their course, either among the hummocks or over an unvaried field of snow, without objects to direct the eye; more particularly evinced by his own Cossack:

In the midst of the intricate labyrinths of ice, turning sometimes to the right, and sometimes to the left, now winding round a large hummock, now crossing over a smaller one, among all the incessant changes of direction, he seemed to have a plan of them all in his memory, and to make them compensate each other, so that we never lost our main direction; and whilst I was watching the different turns, compass in hand, trying to resume the true route, he had always a perfect knowledge of it empirically. His estimation of the distances we had passed over reduced to a straight line, generally agreed with my determinations deduced from observed latitudes and the day's course. p. 146.

In attempting to advance to the northward they found the hummocks of ice to increase both in size and number, until they formed whole ranges, some of them not less than eighty feet high. They now sent back to the Kolyma eight empty sledges, with their drivers, who had become alarmed, and for some time had despaired of ever seeing their homes again. The rugged surface continued to get worse, and an unbroken ridge of hummocks, a hundred feet high, seemed to refuse all further progress to the north. It was therefore decided to turn towards the opposite quarter; but all their efforts were baffled by frequent fissures in the ice, open water, and impassable hummocks; and even when they had succeeded in gaining their former path, they found that some of the hummocks had sunk, leaving large pools and fissures, and many lanes of water had opened. "At one place," the Baron says, "my eight dogs fell into the water, and must have dragged the sledge after them, but for its great length, which saved us."

In this month of April the temperature varied very much. On the 17th, for instance, the thermometer stood at $+21^{\circ}$ in the morning, and $+16^{\circ}$ in the evening; but on the 18th the temperature had descended to $+4^{\circ}$ in the morning, and $+5^{\circ}$ in the evening. A snow storm occurred, so thick that those in the hindmost sledges could not see the leading ones.

The night was most uncomfortable; the dogs were buried in the snow, and utterly unable to proceed. "We were exposed to the whole fury of the storm, unable either to pitch our tent or light a fire, with a temperature of $+7^{\circ}$, without tea or soup, and with nothing to quench our thirst, or satisfy our hunger, but a few mouthfuls of snow, a little rye biscuit, and half-spoilt fish." In the morning, after travelling about thirty-five miles, being directed in their course entirely by the compass, they reached, to their great joy, the "Four-pillar Island." From this they proceeded to the other islands of the group, and here, von Wrangell says, "we were most unexpectedly greeted by the notes of some linnets, the harbingers of spring, and the first cheerful sounds which we had heard since we began our ice journey." The temperature was now $+9^{\circ}$, or 23° below the freezing-point.

On the 28th April they arrived at Nishne Kolymsk, after an absence of thirty-six days, during which they had travelled above 800 miles with the same dogs, men and animals having equally suffered by cold, hunger and fatigue.

Neither discomfort, however, nor danger prevented the Baron from undertaking a third excursion on the polar ice the following spring. He now required ninety-six dogs for eight sledges; but a disease, which had been raging among them, had carried off so large a number, that on this account he had great difficulty. It is stated that the poor inhabitants lost four-fifths of these useful animals, on which their subsistence mainly depended. He succeeded, however, in procuring from the people of the Indigirka, to which the sickness had not extended, three hundred dogs to choose out of, and from them he selected sixty for five travelling sledges, together with as many as were necessary to drag the provisions and fuel; he took a supply for forty days, and began his journey on the 14th March.

Near the shore the ice was found to be rugged and full of large hummocks, which, as they advanced, were succeeded by a surface covered with drifted ridges of snow. The thermometer, -9° to -11° , during the day, fell at night to -24° . Two days afterwards the mercury rose to $+35^{\circ}$, a difference of 59 degrees. Large hummocks of ice again appeared, and caused accidents both to men and dogs. M. von Wrangell says the traces of his sledge broke, just as he had gained the summit of one of these masses, when "the dogs flew down the steep declivity, leaving the sledge and myself at the top." This rugged surface continued so far that the sledges were damaged and broken, and so many of the dogs maimed, that it became necessary to send back thirteen of the provision sledges.

On the 27th March, the latitude reached being $17^{\circ} 13'$, two hills were supposed to be seen in the northeast. The number, as they advanced, appeared to increase, with their intermediate valleys, and some detached rocks. In short the party were inspired with a sanguine hope of having reached the long sought for land, the object of all their toils. In the evening, however, their newly-discovered land was observed to stretch all along the horizon, and soon after it finally vanished from the sight; and the next day afforded them a repetition of the same optical illusion. On the 9th April, after passing the night behind a ridge of ice and snow,

"we found ourselves amidst one of the wildest groups of hummocks which we had ever seen, and among which, after working seven hours with crow-bars, we had advanced only three wersts." It was therefore decided, that as, from the exhausted state of the dogs, the dilapidated condition of the sledges, and the evident continuation of the rugged surface of hummocks, they could scarcely be able to accomplish thirty wersts in a week, it would not be prudent to proceed; but M. von Matsushkin, with two companions, in an unloaded sledge, set out to discover if any further advance could be made to the north. Having accomplished ten wersts in a due north direction, all further advance was stopped by the complete breaking up of the ice, and a close approach to the open sea. He had seen, he says, "the icy sea break its fetters; enormous fields of ice, raised by the waves into an almost vertical position, driven against each other with a dreadful crash, pressed downwards by the force of the foaming billows, and re-appearing again on the surface covered with the torn-up green mud, which everywhere here forms the bottom of the sea, and which we had so often found on the highest hummocks." This was in the 72d^o of latitude, 200 miles to the northward of the Baranow rock.

A few miles in another direction brought the party to a field of very thin ice, broken in many places, and covered with a quantity of salt water. "These unequivocal indications," says von Wrangell, "of an approaching general break-up, warned us to proceed no further." They had food only for four days for the dogs; were 200 wersts from the nearest deposit of provisions; the season also was far advanced; they determined therefore to return without further delay. Their journey back was toilsome, tedious and hazardous; yet, fatigued and worn-out as their draught animals appeared to be on the two last days, they accomplished on the first of them fifty-five wersts, and on the second fifty wersts.

On the 4th May they arrived at a place called Pochodsk, where nothing but suffering and misery surrounded them. "Six half-starved Tungusian families, urged by despair, had exerted the last remnant of their failing strength to reach this place, where they found the few inhabitants in a scarcely less sad condition, their stores being quite consumed, and they themselves supporting life as well as they could on remnants of our provisions, and had reason to hope that this assistance saved the lives of several."

On the 5th May the party reached Nishne Kolymsk, after an absence of fifty-seven days, in which they are stated to have travelled over 1355 wersts (upwards of 900 miles).

Nothing discouraged by the failure of three laborious and perilous attempts to discover the supposed land in the Polar Sea, to the northward of the eastern part of the Siberian coast, the Baron and his party determined on a fourth expedition, on which it was resolved they should start from a more easterly point. They proceeded therefore on the ice along the shore to Schalorow island, a little to the eastward of Cape Schelagaskoi; on the 8th March doubled the cape; and on the 13th left Schalorow island in a thin mist, with a temperature of -11° , increased to -24° in the evening. Near this cape they fell in with a small party of

the Tschutschi, with whom was a little old man, who told them he was the Kamachi, or chief of the tribe in that neighborhood. By him they were informed that between Cape Schelagskoi and Cape North "there was a part of the coast where, from some cliffs near the mouth of a river, one might in a clear summer's day descry some snow-covered mountains at a great distance to the north; but that in winter it was impossible to see so far;" he added, that formerly herds of reindeer sometimes came across the ice, but had been frightened back by hunters and wolves: and he contrived to amuse them with a long hearsay story about what he evidently knew nothing of himself.

Proceeding easterly about thirty-five miles, they reached a small island called by the natives Amgaoton, but the Baron gave to it the name of Schalorow, "after the man whose enterprise, courage and perseverance, and finally whose death in these regions have well deserved that his name should be so recorded." From this small island, on the 13th of March, the party launched their sledges on the polar ice, and proceeded to the northward over a tolerably even surface, which continued about fourteen or fifteen miles, until on the 14th, at a temperature of -24° to -31° , they came to rugged hummocks of ice that required the labor of crow-bars to pass through, an operation which greatly fatigued them, and to little purpose, for, on the approach of night, it was found that they had only advanced about two miles. On the following day the same severe labor was repeated, and the whole distance gained was only three miles. A fissure in the ice permitted them to take soundings, which were found to be nineteen fathoms, on a bottom of mud and sand. Discovering it now to be impossible to penetrate farther with the whole party through these rugged hummocks, eight sledges were ordered back; provisions were here deposited, equal to a supply of twenty-three days for the remaining men and dogs; and with four sledges and five people, the Baron and M. Kasmin determined to try how far they could advance to the north.

They had scarcely set out when a violent wind with snow prevented their making any progress, and the gale increased in the night to a tempest: this was discovered, in the morning, to have broken up the ice in a fearful manner—and the party found themselves deposited on a detached iceberg, about fifty fathoms in diameter. "As the storm continued to rage, we were tossed to and fro, and the fissures on every side of us opened more and more, till some of them were fifteen fathoms across." The next morning, however, a change of wind fortunately reunited the detached fragments to the general body, and thus rescued the party from imminent danger. They now worked their way in various directions, sometimes among hummocks, sometimes winding a long way round to avoid wide lanes of open water, and sometimes crossing over young ice, which broke behind them as fast as they proceeded: at length they reached a flat surface of about five wersts across, only covered with a thin crust of ice, which from its smoothness was evidently just formed. This seemed to extend both east and west without any termination—and

Opinions were divided as to the possibility of its bearing us. I de-

terminated to try, and the adventure succeeded better than could have been hoped for, owing to the incredible swift running of the dogs, to which, doubtless, we owed our safety. The leading sledge actually broke through in several places, but the dogs, warned, no doubt, of the danger, by their natural instinct, and animated by the incessant cries of encouragement of the driver, flew so rapidly across the yielding ice, that we reached the other side without absolutely sinking through. The other three sledges followed with similar rapidity, each across such parts as appeared to them most promising; and we were now all assembled in safety on the north side of the fissure. It was necessary to halt for a time, to allow the dogs to recover a little from their extraordinary exertions. p. 346.

The same difficulties and dangers continued, and their embarrassments were not diminished by the knowledge that the provisions for the dogs were beginning to fail. Two of the four sledges were therefore sent back to the last deposit, while the other two remained to push on this daring adventure. They soon observed the horizon to be covered from N. W. to N. E. by that dense blue vapor which, we are told, in these regions always indicates open water. At length they arrived at the edge of an immense break in the ice, extending east and west further than the eye could reach, and which, at the narrowest part, was more than 150 fathoms across. We can readily enter into the feelings of this brave officer, on finding all his hopes completely frustrated by this tremendous chasm in the ice, which by no possibility could be passed; but he must himself describe them.

We climbed one of the loftiest ice-hills, whence we obtained an extensive view toward the north, and whence we beheld the wide, immeasurable ocean spread before our gaze. It was a fearful and magnificent, but to us a melancholy spectacle! Fragments of ice of enormous size floated on the surface of the agitated ocean, and were thrown by the waves with awful violence against the edge of the ice-field on the further side of the channel before us. The collisions were so tremendous, that large masses were every instant broken away, and it was evident that the portion of ice which still divided the channel from the open ocean would soon be completely destroyed. Had we attempted to have ferried ourselves across upon one of the floating pieces of ice, we should not have found firm footing upon our arrival. Even on our own side fresh lanes of water were continually forming, and extending in every direction in the field of ice behind us. We could go no further.

With a painful feeling of the impossibility of overcoming the obstacles which nature opposed to us, our last hope vanished of discovering the land, which we yet believed to exist. We saw ourselves compelled to renounce the object for which we had striven through three years of hardships, toil and danger. We had done what duty and honor demanded; further attempts would have been absolutely hopeless, and I decided to return. p. 348.

They turned; but already the track of their advance was scarcely discernible. In fact the danger became so imminent, the dogs so exhausted, the provisions so scanty, that not a moment was to be lost. But we

shall content ourselves by making one more extract, which exhibits the same peril to which these enterprising men were exposed, and, at the same time, the admirable conduct of those faithful and intelligent creatures, the dogs, by whose exertions alone they were at last rescued.

After driving only three wersts, we found our old track completely obliterated by fresh hummocks and fissures, which rendered our advance so difficult that we were at last forced to abandon a part of the stores which we carried. After toiling on for two wersts more, we found ourselves completely surrounded by lanes of water, opening more and more, until, to the west, the sea appeared completely open with floating ice, and dark vapors ascending from it obscured the whole horizon. To the south we still saw what appeared a plain of ice, but it consisted only of larger fragments, and even these we could not reach, as we were separated from them by a wide space of water. Thus cut off on every side, we awaited the night with anxiety: happily for us, both the sea and the air was calm, and this circumstance, and the expectation of a night-frost gave us hope. During the night a gentle breeze sprung up from the W. N. W., and gradually impelled the ice-island, on which we were, towards the east, and nearer to the larger surface before mentioned. In order to get over the remaining space, we hooked with poles the smaller pieces of ice which floated about, and formed with them a kind of bridge, which the night-frost cemented sufficiently to admit of our crossing over upon it before sunrise on the 27th. We had hardly proceeded one werst, when we found ourselves in a fresh labyrinth of lanes of water, which hemmed us in on every side. As the floating pieces around us were smaller than the one on which we stood, which was seventy-five fathoms across, and as we saw many certain indications of an approaching storm, I thought it better to remain on the larger mass, which offered us somewhat more security; and thus we waited quietly whatever Providence should decree. Dark clouds now rose from the west, and the whole atmosphere became filled with a damp vapor. A strong breeze suddenly sprung up from the west, and increased in less than half an hour to a storm. Every moment huge masses of ice around us were dashed against each other, and broken into a thousand fragments. Our little party remained fast on our ice-island, which was tossed to and fro by the waves; we gazed in most painful inactivity on the wild conflict of the elements, expecting every moment to be swallowed up. We had been three long hours in this position, and still the mass of ice beneath us held together, when suddenly it was caught by a storm, and hurled us against a large field of ice; the crash was terrific, and the mass beneath us was shattered into fragments. At that dreadful moment, when escape seemed impossible, the impulse of self-preservation, implanted in every living being, saved us. Instinctively we all sprang at once on the sledges, and urged the dogs to their full speed: they flew across the yielding fragments to the field on which we had been stranded, and safely reached a part of it of firmer character, on which were several hummocks, and where the dogs immediately ceased running, conscious, apparently, that the danger was past. We were saved; we joyfully embraced each other, and united in thanks to God for our preservation from such imminent peril. pp. 352, 353.

But their misfortunes did not end here; their provisions were nearly exhausted, and M. Kasmin, who had been sent in an empty sledge to the northward to try to kill a bear, as food for the dogs, returned without success: they were cut off from the deposit of their provisions—they were 360 wersts from their nearest magazine, and the food for the dogs was now barely sufficient for three days. "There was nothing to be done," says von Wrangell, "but to begin our return, which we did on the 6th of March, with the prospect of our dogs perishing by the way and our having to travel the remainder of the distance on foot." Their joy may be easily imagined when, after a few wersts' travelling, they fell in with M. von Matuschkin and his party, bringing with them an abundant supply of provisions of all kinds.

To leave nothing undone, which by possibility could be effected, M. von Wrangell advanced to the eastward along the coast, passed Cape North, seen in Cook's last voyage, and proceeded as far as Koliutschin Island, which he says is the Burney Island of Cook, and the spot where the survey of Captain Billings ended from Behring's Strait; and here he found a party of the Tehutschis, who had come to trade from the same strait.

It is impossible to read this book without being impressed with the striking similarity in the toils, the dangers and the sufferings to which Sir Edward Parry in his last attempt, and M. von Wrangell in his four excursions, were exposed on the ice of the North Polar Sea. It is, however, only fair to admit that in every particular the Russian seaman had to sustain and contend against an infinitely greater amount of difficulty and disadvantage;—he was exposed for a much longer period—he traversed a much greater space—he had far inferior means and resources to work with and to fall back upon. We must add, that no British officer can compare the narratives without being deeply impressed with the generous liberality which his own government shows in all its arrangements for the safety and comfort of those employed, in researches of this nature, under the English flag.

Of the leader of these Russian expeditions we have always received from his own countrymen and others the most flattering accounts. That extraordinary "pedestrian," Captain Cochrane, when on the shores of the Frozen Sea, was indebted to him for friendly advice and assistance; and the Captain says, that "for personal exertion and sacrifice, scientific acquirements, more particularly in practical and theoretical astronomy, he believes this indefatigable young officer, the Baron von Wrangell, has no equal in the Russian navy."

We have barely hinted at the similarity of the English and Russian enterprises along the shores of the Polar Sea; but there is also a most striking correspondence in all the geographical features of the whole surrounding coast of this sea. Major Sabine, who has well studied, and to a certain extent is personally acquainted with the subject, says, in his preface:

There is a striking resemblance in the configuration of the northern coasts of the continents of Asia and America for several hundred miles

on either side of Behring's Straits; the general direction of the coast is the same in both continents, the latitude is nearly the same, and each has its attendant group of islands to the north,—the Asiatic continent, those usually known as the New Siberian Islands,—and the American, those called by Sir Edward Parry the North Georgian Group, and since fitly named, from their discoverer, the Parry Islands. The resemblance includes the islands also, both in general character and in latitude. pp. 5, 6.

Attention has frequently been called in our journal to the polar regions, and more particularly to the shores, the ice, and the islands of that portion of the Polar Sea which borders on America; the object of our inquiry being especially directed to the practicability of an open passage through it between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans—which now, in point of fact, has, as nearly as possible, been carried into execution. Leaving that, however, for the present out of the question, we are now in a condition to take a more correct and extended view of the whole surrounding shores of this sea. We now know that the average latitudes of these shores may be taken at about 70° , some few of its capes and headlands extending one or two degrees higher, and some of the bays and inlets forming the mouths of rivers as many degrees lower. Taking the above average, we may view this great Polar Sea as enclosed within a circle whose diameter is forty degrees, or 2400 geographical miles, and circumference 7200 miles. On the Asiatic side of this sea are Nova Zembla and the New Siberian Islands, each extending to about the 76th degree of latitude. On the European and American sides are Spitzbergen, extending to about 80° , and a part of Old Greenland, whose northern extremity is yet unknown. Facing America is the large island washed by the Regent's Inlet, Parry's or Melville Islands, with some others, in lat. 70° to 76° , and beyond these nothing is known of any other land or islands; and if we may form an opinion, by inspecting the general chart of the earth, it would be, that no islands exist which could in any shape obstruct navigation.

We come to this conclusion from observing that, in none of the great oceans of the globe, are there any large islands very distant from the shore of some continent. Those near such a shore may be considered fragments of it; and those which are distant are very seldom such as occasion any obstruction to navigation; being small and for the most part volcanic, as we find the greater part of those in the Pacific and the Indian Oceans. There appears to be no reason why the islands of the great Polar Sea may not be supposed to partake of the same law. M. von Wrangell's progress on the ice was stopped by arriving at an open sea in lat. 70° or 71° . "We beheld," he says, "the wide, immeasurable ocean spread before our gaze, a fearful and magnificent, but to us a *melancholy* spectacle:"—"A spectacle," well observes Major Sabine, "that would wear an aspect of a totally opposite character to those whose success should depend on the facilities of navigation." Lieutenant Anjou was stopped by the open sea to the northward of the New Siberian Islands in lat. 76° ; so were Henderstom, Tatarinow, and every Russian who had

crossed the polar ice; we know that all the parties, who surveyed along the coast of America from Behring's Strait to Back's River, saw nothing but open sea to the northward; and Captain James Ross, from the western side of what has been illegitimately called Boothia (another name having already been appropriated to it), saw nothing but sea to the westward. Parry, in his concluding paragraph, says: "before the middle of August, when we left the ice in our boats, a ship might have sailed to the latitude of 82° , almost without touching a piece of ice; and it was the general opinion among us that, by the end of that month, it would probably have been no very difficult matter to reach the parallel of 83° [why not 90° ?] about the meridian of the Seven Islands." Are we not then led to the conclusion that, supposing no continent to intervene, no obstruction from ice would prevent a navigable passage to the very pole! The point which enjoys the presence of the sun above the horizon six months in the year without once setting, must have a much milder temperature than Spitzbergen in 80° , or even in 82° , where Parry found it warm enough. It would appear indeed that the extreme cold is from the arctic circle to 72° or 73° .

We have always been consistent in the firm belief of the practicability of a northwest passage, and the more we consider the subject, the more satisfied we are that it may and ought to be accomplished by British seamen. The door has been opened by British intrepidity at its two extremities,—Lancaster Sound and Behring's Strait,—and from what we have just stated there is little cause to suspect any intervention of islands to impede navigation. "That there is an opening," says Captain Beaufort, the intelligent hydrographer of the Admiralty, "and, at times, a navigable sea-passage between the straits of Behring and Davis, there can be no doubt in the mind of any person who has duly weighed the evidence; it is equally certain that it would be an intolerable disgrace to this country, were the flag of any other nation to be borne through it before our own;" and he adds: "whenever the wisdom of government shall think fit to solve the problem, I am satisfied that the mode proposed by Sir John Barrow* is the most prudent that could be adopted." Deeply, indeed, should we deplore the "intolerable disgrace" of having this favorite object of every British government, for the last 250 years, snatched from our grasp by "the flag of any other nation." "Who," says Major Sabine, "that reflects on the interest which has been excited in this country for two centuries and a half, by the question of a northwest passage, on the heroic performances of the earlier navigators, in their frail and insufficient vessels, and on all the efforts of modern times, can forbear to wish that the crowning enterprise of so much exertion and so many hopes, may be more suitable to those expectations of a "free and navigable" passage which formed the reasonable basis of this long cher-

* This plan, we need scarcely say, is to cross Baffin's Bay, through Lancaster Sound and Barrow's Strait (always open), pass the opening about Cape Walker, steer a direct course for Behring's Strait, keeping about midway between the coast of America and Melville Island.

ished project?" We cannot, however, conceal from ourselves, that, availing itself of our tardiness, there is "a flag of another nation," whose monarch is active, enterprising, ambitious, and all-powerful, and who has an equally enterprising admiral, who would be but too happy to carry that flag from Petersburg to Kamschatka through the northwest passage.*

ARTICLE X.

FELLOWES' EXCURSION IN ASIA MINOR.

Condensed from the Edinburgh Review, July, 1840.

A Journal written during an Excursion in Asia Minor, in 1838. By Charles Fellowes. London: 8vo. 1839.

[OUR reviewer begins with some just remarks on the want of a more accurate and extended knowledge of the internal geography of Asia Minor. This he attributes to the negligence or incompetency of most modern travellers. The country, however, in its natural aspect and beauty, is attractive to the eye of science, as well as taste, while it is replete with monuments and memorials of its early history.]

THE scattered fragments of its temples—its paved thoroughfares, the ruins of its numerous theatres and gymnasia, its marble sepulchres hewn out of the rocks, its Cyclopean fortifications, its extensive moles and artificial harbors—carry back the mind at once to the periods of its prosperity and renown. From the mythic ages that Hesiod and Homer have sung, to the days of the first Orchan,* when Islamism set her minarets and crescents upon the basilica of the Greek Emperors—from the time when Alyattes and the Lydian Kings were entombed on the plains of Sardes, to that when the last of the Lusignans was driven from Cyprus—each successive period has left its own monument illustrative of the arts;—

* A northwest passage would be of infinite importance to Russia as connected with her settlements on the N. W. coast of North America and the N. E. coast of Asia. Thus:

	Miles.
The distance from St. Petersburg to Cape Horn . . .	9300
“ “ from Cape Horn to Behring's Strait . . .	9500
Total distance	18,800
Petersburg to Behring's Strait by Lancaster Sound . . .	6,670
Difference	13,130 miles.

The latter route being less than one-third the distance of that by Cape Horn.

evinced the height of perfection to which architecture and sculpture were advanced, and furnishing an undying testimony to the genius that characterized the Asiatic Greek.

Asia Minor is distinguished for the excellence and number of its ancient geographers. It has been described by Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny: Xenophon has left a narrative of the route of Cyrus from Sardes in Lydia, to Celænæ in Phrygia, from thence to Iconium in Lycaonia, and to Tarsus on the southeast coast. Arrian describes the progress of Alexander the Great, which carries us through the wider range of Lycia and Pamphylia in the south, Gordium in the north of Phrygia, Ancyra and Cappadocia, terminating, like the preceding historians, at Tarsus in Cilicia; whilst Livy, again, has described the marches of Cn. Manlius through parts of the same provinces; so that the amount of materials illustrative of the country when it was in its most flourishing condition, is both ample and satisfactory.

[The reviewer entertains us with a description of Smyrna, with some account of the language and manners of its present inhabitants,—of Assos, beautifully situated in the Kingdom of Mysia, with its magnificent ruins, “extending for miles, undisturbed by any living creature except the goats and kids,”—of the province of Bithynia, a land of beauty and enchantment, where the air is fragrant and unclouded, where vineyards and corn-fields, gardens and mulberry-grounds smile on every side. There are Mount Olympus, and, before it, a series of mountains with their feet bathed in the most placid of lakes—the ancient Ascania. There too are the remains of Nicæa and other considerable places. But we hasten to the following remarks, which exhibit, more than any other part of this review, the value of the researches of the author.]

Hitherto we have accompanied Mr. Fellowes to places that have been before visited by various travellers; but upon entering Pamphylia he appears in the character of a discoverer. Amid the wilds of Mount Taurus, surrounded by impetuous torrents, and inaccessible on account of the precipitousness of the rocks on which their city was built, dwelt a colony of Lacedæmonians, whom Strabo describes as the bravest and most powerful people of that district. For several centuries the position of their city was unknown; the journal before us has the merit of first making the civilized world acquainted with the existence of a place so remarkable as Selge.

After passing a rocky plain, we entered a wood or wilderness of shrubs, and suddenly came to a cliff of the greatest perpendicular height I had ever looked over: no description can give an idea of the place. It was at the end of a ridge of mountains of white marble, which terminate abruptly in a deep and rich valley, with villages, of which Davre appeared the largest, and having only one side accessible; the other three rising perpendicularly, perhaps a thousand feet. Upon this promontory stood one of the finest cities that probably ever existed, now presenting magnificent wrecks of grandeur. I rode for at least three

miles through a part of the city, which was one pile of temples, theatres, and buildings, vying with each other in splendor: the elevated site for such a city is quite unaccountable to me. The materials of these ruins, like those near Alaysoon, had suffered much from exposure to the elements, being gray with a lichen which was eating into the marble, and entirely destroying the surface and inscriptions: but the scale, the simple grandeur, and the uniform beauty of style, bespoke its date to be the early Greek. The sculptural cornices frequently contain groups of figures fighting, wearing helmets and body armor, with shields and long spears: from the ill-proportioned figures and general appearance, they must rank in date with the *Ægina* marbles now at Munich. The ruins are so thickly strewn that little cultivation is practicable; but in the areas of theatres, cellas of temples, and any space where a plough can be used, the wheat is springing up. The general style of the temples is Corinthian, but not so florid as in less ancient towns. The tombs are scattered for a mile from the town, and are of many kinds, some cut in chambers in the face of the rock, others, sarcophagi of the heaviest form; they have had inscriptions, and the ornaments are almost all martial; several seats remain amongst the tombs. I can scarcely guess the number of temples or columned buildings in the town, but I certainly traced fifty or sixty; and, in places where there were no remains above the surface, I frequently saw vast arched vaults, similar to those forming the foundation of great public buildings. Although apparently unnecessary for defence, the tombs had strong walls, partly built with large stones in the Cyclopean mode. There is no trace of any successors to the earliest occupants. I never conceived so high an idea of the works of the ancients as from my visit to this place, standing as it does in a situation as it were above the world.

Descending from these mountain ranges our author conducts us through a rich wilderness to Adalia, Perga, Isionda, Penelessus, Syllium, Side and Aspendus; and scarcely any one of these cities yields in magnitude and interest to those hitherto noticed. Out of this number we will merely adduce Perga, which seems to have greater claims to attention than the rest; and also because it serves in some degree to convey to the reader a very natural picture of the present state of all these early Grecian colonies. "When," says Monsieur Texier, "the long girdle of walls round Perga are perceived in the distance, flanked by elevated towers, and defended by a deep river, the traveller is astonished not to hear the noise that announces the approach to a great city. All is silent. He advances, he passes through the gates, and it is but with difficulty he can dispel the illusion. Perga has been deserted more than ten centuries. What power has been able to force the inhabitants to quit a city so strong, and so magnificently adorned? The theatre, the stadium, the forum, watered by a canal whose sides are lined with marble, the baths and the porticoes, are yet standing. It cannot be famine, because the plains around are fertile. The Cestrus has not turned from its course, and the sources of pure water flow on still at the head of the aqueducts. The mind loses itself in endeavoring to solve the problem, how so many cities should have simultaneously, as it were, shared a common fate, and become depopulated and forgotten."

Mr. Fellowes having reached the coast of Karamania, goes by sea to Phaselis, Olympus, and Kakava; proceeding thence by land, he visits Myra, Antephellus, and Patara, and then explores the Valley of the Xanthus. Here he has again added to our geographical knowledge; being the first traveller who has penetrated far enough into the interior of the country to discover the remains of Xanthus and Tlos; two of the chief towns of the Lycian confederacy. But it is not merely for having extended our views over the surface of this hitherto untraversed district that we are indebted to him; as he has also made us acquainted with some of the noblest specimens of sepulchral art that exist in any part of the globe. The ruins of Xanthus are described by Mr. Fellowes as being of a very early date; many of the walls are Cyclopean, and the language of the inscriptions is like the Phœnician or Etruscan! In the ruins there are many parallelisms to the Persepolitan, as may be seen from a figured representation in the volume before us.

The elegant designs evince the talent of the Greeks; and the highly poetical subjects of the bas-reliefs, the temples, friezes, and tombs, some of them blending in one figure the forms of many, probably to describe its attributes, are also of Greek character. The ruins are wholly of temples, triumphal arches, walls, and a theatre. The site is extremely romantic, upon beautiful hills; some crowned with rocks, others rising perpendicularly from the river, which is seen winding its way down from the woody uplands, while beyond, in the extreme distance, are the snowy mountains in which it rises. On the west the view is bounded by the picturesquely formed, but bare range of Mount Cragus, and on the east by the mountain chains extending to Patara. A rich plain, with its meandering river, carries the eye to the horizon of the sea towards the southwest. The city has not the appearance of having been very large, but its remains show that it was highly ornamented, particularly the tombs. . . . There is no trace of the Roman or the Christian age. p. 227.

Mr. Fellowes next enters into a detailed account of the principal tombs still existing, and furnishes us with some well-executed lithographs, that serve to make us better acquainted with their merits as objects of sepulchral art. Among the greater number of monuments yet preserved, the most remarkable for design and workmanship is a very lofty sarcophagus of white marble, which owes its excellent condition in great measure to having been finely polished. The top, or *hog's mane*, is decorated with a hunting scene, the figures of which are highly finished and full of spirit. On each side of the sloping roof are figures of warriors and war-horses, characterized by great spirit and heroic beauty; and upon two projecting stones, as found upon all these tombs, are carved lions' heads crouching on their paws. Nearer the base, there are on one side groups of figures three feet six inches high, clothed in gracefully folded draperies, apparently supplicants before a judicial authority; upon the other side is an animated representation of combatants—some of whom are fighting naked, others wearing merely a loose shirt confined by a belt round the waist. It is

difficult to convey, by a mere description, an adequate idea of the refined feeling that is stamped on this work of early sculpture, and we must therefore, for the present, refer our readers to the representations of it in the journal before us; and we have the less reluctance in making this brief allusion to it now, from the agreeable intimation conveyed in the preface, that Government has given directions for this and other specimens of sepulchral art in the same locality, to be added to our national collection. The study of such monuments will always have the effect of giving an impulse to the artists of the country; they will tend to diffuse more correct principles of knowledge and taste; and whilst they elicit the sparks of latent genius, they will equally advance the happiness and the morals of the people.

From Xanthus Mr. Fellowes proceeded to Tlos, where he also found very extensive ruins, of the same nature as those at the preceding city. But here the Romans have engrafted much of their own architecture upon the early Greek.

The original city must have been demolished in very early times, and the finely-wrought fragments are now seen built into the strong walls which have fortified the town raised upon its ruins. The theatre of the ancient city was large, and the most highly and expensively finished that I have ever seen; the seats not only are of marble, as has been the case in most that I have seen, but the marble is highly wrought, and has been polished, and each seat has an overhanging cornice, often supported by lions' paws. The cornices of wreaths, masks and other designs are records of a luxurious city. There are also ruins of several other extensive buildings with columns, but their positions are not so good, and they may probably be of the date of the latter town. The most striking feature in the place is the perfect honeycomb, formed in the sides of the Acropolis, by excavated tombs which are cut out of the rock with architectural ornaments, in the forms of temples, &c., some showing considerable taste. Neither at Patara nor here, is there the least trace of inscriptions similar to those at Xanthus; but there are several in the Greek language, which may assist in deciding the date of the place.

From hence Mr. Fellowes goes to Telmessus, a place remarkable for the number and beauty of its tombs, sculptured in the rocks; representations of which, very like those at Khebse in Arabia Petraea, are given in his Journal. Travelling northwards, at no great distance from the Gulf of Cos, he visits the ruins of the Corinthian temple at Labranda, and from thence proceeds to Miletus, Ephesus, Laodicea, Hierapolis, Philadelphia, and Sardes, terminating his journey at Smyrna, from whence he started; having, in the course of three months, made the most complete examination of Anadhouly that has hitherto been laid before the world.

We might easily have drawn more largely than we have done from the narrative of this excursion: we might have quoted descriptions which portray the manners and habits of the people; we might have adduced some curious elucidations of classical authors; and from the Greek in-

scriptions, which frequently occur, we might have furnished matter for reflection to the critic and the historian. But we shall content ourselves with having recommended to notice a work valuable for its illustrations of the antiquities, the geography, and the physical state of a region of great interest and renown.

ARTICLE XI.

RECENT DISCOVERIES AND IMPROVEMENTS IN SCIENCE AND THE ARTS.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

It would be impossible to make room in our work for even a moiety of the new, profound and practical discussions which appear in the foreign journals of science and art. The most that we can hope to do in these departments will be to furnish occasional articles from the pens of learned associates, as well as from foreign periodicals, exhibiting, briefly, the history and progress of the several sciences and useful arts, inventions and discoveries. One such article may hereafter be expected in each No. of the *Eclectic*; by which we shall endeavor to introduce our readers to a general acquaintance with the numerous subjects here referred to. But in an age of improvement, so active and advancing in knowledge as the present, historical and explanatory discussions of sciences and arts would fail to answer the design of our work. New discoveries and improvements are constantly reported in the journals from which our selections are made. Brief notices of these, arranged under their appropriate heads, will appear in the progress of our labors. We begin with the subject of *Geology*, and shall follow it, in subsequent Nos., with *Natural Philosophy*, *Electricity*, *Chemistry*, *Natural History*, *Astronomy*, *Geography*, *the Mechanical and Useful Arts*, etc. These subjects will be introduced in such order as shall be found convenient. Our plan is, in the course of each year, to gather up and report all the important and well authenticated discoveries and improvements in each of these departments, which shall have been made during the year next preceding; thus rendering our work a repository of "facts in science and art," as full and complete as the London "Year-Book," or any other similar work. To the publication just named, entitled the "Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art," etc., London, 1840, we are indebted for most of the items with which we begin this series of articles. We shall hereafter avail ourselves more extensively of other sources. Most of the facts here noticed, occurred in 1839, and were reported in foreign journals prior to March, 1840.

GEOLOGY.

USE OF GEOLOGY TO FARMERS.

ONE of the most obvious sources of advantage to the farmer from an acquaintance with the distribution of mineral masses, is the facility with which, in many instances, the injurious effects of small springs coming to the surface may be obviated. The theory of the earth's internal drainage is so simple, that every man of common sense would be able to drain his lands upon sure principles, or else to know precisely why it cannot be drained, if he were to become so much of a geologist as to learn what rocks existed under his land, at what depth, and in what positions. Springs never issue from stratified masses, except from reservoirs, somehow produced in jointed rocks, and at the level of the overflow of these subterraneous cavities. Faults in the strata very frequently limit these reservoirs, and determine the points of efflux of the water. Let those faults be ascertained, or the edge of the jointed rock be found; the cure of the evil is immediate. But some geological information is needed here; and landed proprietors, who think it less troublesome to employ an agent than to direct such a simple operation, may at least profit by this hint, and choose an agent who knows something of the rocks he is to drain. Another thing, probably of importance to agriculturists, is the discovery of substances at small depths; which, if brought to the surface, would enrich, by a suitable mixture, the soil of their fields. This is very strongly insisted on by Sir H. Davy in his *Essays*, and considering how easy a thing it is for a land-owner to ascertain positively the series of strata in his estate, it is somewhat marvellous that so few cases can be quoted, except that of Sir John Johnson, Bart., of Hackness, near Scarborough, in which this easy work has been performed. Finally, in experiments for the introduction of new systems and modes of management, with respect to cattle and crops, it will be of great consequence to take notice of the qualities of the soil, substrata and water; for these undoubtedly exercise a real and perhaps decisive influence over the result.—*Mining Review*.

PEAT BOGS.

DR. ADAMS has read to the British Association a paper on the great advantage which would result from rendering Peat Bogs serviceable for agricultural purposes. He mentioned that, in some cases, where his plan had been adopted, the bogs were actually more profitable than the neighboring lands. Another paper was read upon the same subject, in which it was stated that they might be made available as an excellent manure by the use of sulphuric acid, applied to the peat in heaps, mixed with putrifying vegetable matter as a sort of compost.—*Literary Gazette*.

GASES IN WELL-DIGGING.

ON Nov. 6, was read to the Geological Society, a communication "On the Noxious Gases emitted from the chalk and overlying strata in sinking Wells near London," by Dr. Mitchell. The most abundant deleterious gas in the chalk is the carbonic acid; and it is said to occur

in greater quantities in the lower than the upper division of the formation. The distribution of it, however, in that portion of the series is very unequal. Sulphuretted hydrogen and carburetted hydrogen gases sometimes occur where the chalk is covered with sand and London clay, as well as in other situations. In making the Thames Tunnel, they have been both occasionally given out, and some inconvenience has been experienced by the workmen: but in no instance have the effects been fatal. In the districts where sulphuretted hydrogen gas occurs, the discharge increases considerably after long continued rain, the water forcing it out from the cavities in which it had accumulated. The paper contained several cases of well-diggers having been suffocated from not using proper precautions.—*Athenæum*.

ARTESIAN WELLS OF THE NEW RIVER COMPANY (LONDON).

A PAPER on this subject has been read before the Institution of Civil Engineers, by Mr. Mylne, engineer of the New River Company. These wells are named Artesian, from their having been first adopted in Artois, called by the Romans, *Artesium*. To test the practicability of this method of procuring water in sufficient quantity for the use of the metropolis, the New River Company caused a well to be sunk at the reservoir in the Hampstead Road; the details of which experiment, with other valuable information, are contained in Mr. Mylne's paper. London is placed in a large hollow or bowl of chalk, generally termed "the London basin;" the superstrata being first sand, and then the deep blue London clay. This geological formation is peculiarly adapted for these wells; and on forcing vertically through the deep stratum of clay to that of sand, water is generally found. This will rise to a height depending, of course, on the elevation of the point at which the sand stratum crops out from under the bed of clay; but the Company's experiments do not promise a sufficient quantity of water for their general purposes. The *modus operandi* pursued at this well is minutely stated by Mr. Mylne; who prefatorily mentions that in various parts of the metropolis, and in other places, wells supplied from sand-springs are so affected by neighboring wells, or the subsidence of the upper ground from the large quantities of fine sand pumped out, that they have been necessarily abandoned; and many remarkable instances of danger to buildings from this cause, are related in the above paper. The total expense of their experiment was £12,412, 14s. 1d.—*Railway Magazine*. For an abstract of the above paper, with a sectional engraving, see *Civil Engineer and Architects' Journal*, No. 22.

TEMPERATURE OF ARTESIAN WELLS.

DR. PATERSON has communicated to *Jameson's Journal* several valuable experiments and observations on the temperature of Artesian Wells in Mid-Lothian, Shropshire, and Clackmannanshire; a table of which shows how very nearly the results of different localities approximate; and, if we take the average number of these results, 1° for every 48 feet as we descend, we shall find that it comes very near the average fixed upon by the British Association, which is 1° for every 45 feet.—*Year-Book of Facts*.

ARTESIAN WELLS AT MORTLAKE AND IN ESSEX.

A SUCCESSFUL Artesian operation has lately been performed at Mortlake, within 100 feet of the Thames. First, an auger, 7 inches in diameter, was used in penetrating 20 ft. of superficial detritus, and 200 feet of London clay. An iron tube, 8 inches in diameter, was then driven into the opening, to dam out the land springs, and the percolation of the river. A 4-inch auger was next introduced through the iron tube, and the boring was continued until, the London clay having been perforated to the depth of 240 feet, the sands of the plastic clay were reached, and water of the purest and softest nature was obtained; but the supply was not sufficient, and it did not reach the surface. The work was proceeded with accordingly; and, after 55 feet of alternating beds of sand and clay had been penetrated, the chalk was touched upon. A second tube, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, was then driven into the chalk, to stop out the water of the plastic sands; and through this tube an auger, $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, was introduced, and worked down through 35 feet of hard chalk, abounding with flints. To this succeeded a bed of soft chalk, into which the instrument suddenly penetrated to the depth of 15 feet. On the auger being withdrawn, water gradually rose to the surface and overflowed. The expense of the work did not exceed £300. The general summary of the strata penetrated is as follows: Gravel, 20 feet; London clay, 250; plastic sands and clay 55; hard chalk with flints, 35; soft chalk, 15;=375 feet.—*Dr. Ure's Dictionary of Arts, &c.*

There is, perhaps, no part of the world, where Artesian wells are more general, or more useful, than in Essex. In the vale of the Lea, they have been bored with the greatest facility, and at a small expense. In Weltham Abbey, the cost is usually about £16. In the district of Bulpham Fen, 7 miles south from Brentwood, they yield a large supply of water. In the marshes, as well as along the coast, and in the islands of Essex, they have proved of the greatest utility. Formerly, in some seasons, when the ditches became dry, the cattle suffered, the fishes died, and the farmer lost severely on his stock; but, by the aid of Artesian wells, the ditches are now kept full all the year! In Foulness Island, there are no natural springs; and until lately, no water, except atmospheric, collected in the ditches. In hot seasons, this water became putrid, but the inhabitants and the cattle continued to partake of it as long as it lasted; and supplies were then obtained from seven miles distance. Artesian wells now keep the ditches full of fresh and sweet water. Wallisea, Mersea, and other islands, have profited in a similar manner.—*Dr. Mitchell; Proc. Geolog. Soc.*

ARTESIAN WELL AT PARIS.

A WELL, upon the Artesian principle, has been for some time in progress at the Abattoir of Grenelle, at Paris.* The sound, or borer, weighs 20,000 lbs.; its height is treble that of the dome of the Hospital of Invalids, and it requires two machines of immense power to put it in

* See Year-Book of Facts, 1839, p. 224.

motion. In July last, M. Arago stated this well to have reached 483 metres, or 1,584 feet. M. Arago used the thermometer of M. Waferdin; and having provided for the pressure, which at such a depth is equal to 50 atmospheres, six thermometers were successively let down to a depth of 481 metres, care being taken not to lower them until 36 hours after the boring, in order that the heat which this work might have communicated, should have subsided. The thermometers were left in the well 36 hours; and the heat at the above depth was $93\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ Fahrenheit; being about 23 metres for each degree of temperature.—*Year-Book of Facts.*

THERMAL SPRINGS.

PROF. BISCHOF, in his laborious paper on the Natural History of Volcanoes and Earthquakes, observes: "If we take a summary view of all that has been said on the subject of Thermal Springs, we shall find it impossible to avoid recognizing a relation between elevations of Plutonic masses, the upraising of Neptunian formations and thermal springs. Cause and effect have, however, been frequently confounded here. Thermal and mineral springs are seldom, perhaps never, the cause of those effects. Where, however, these effects are observed, where, in consequence, the penetration of meteoric water into the interior of our earth has been rendered possible, and where natural hydraulic tubes have been formed by the upraising of strata, there the phenomena of thermal and mineral springs were the consequence." The Professor adds that the general aim of his remarks is to show that the degree of heat in thermal springs depends on the greater or less depth of their origin, consequently, wholly and solely on central heat.—*Year-Book of Facts.*

MINERAL SPRINGS IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

ON June 3, was read to the United Service Institution, "An Account of the Mineral Spring on the Rocky Flat, Menero Downs, New South Wales," by Dr. John Lhotsky. This spring is situated about 300 miles from Sidney, at a distance of 12 miles from Kuma, and surrounded by extensive, waste, undulated downs, with long projecting hills. The water of the spring was limpid, and a constant eruption of gas was visible. Its temperature varied from 58° to 60° . "At six P. M., there was lightning to the east, and thunder; wind, S. S. E.; the air became cold to sensation; the spring was still 60° ." The water bubbles strongly, with frequent changes in intensity; but, as far as Dr. Lhotsky could observe, without any certain succession. Its taste is that of the most valuable mineral waters,—Seltzer and Cheltenham. The paper described the geological structure of the neighborhood of the spring, the appearance of the Travertine rocks, the efflorescence thereon, &c. As New South Wales is becoming more and more the resort of invalids from the adjacent tropical colonies, the existence of such a spring is a valuable discovery, and may lead to a Cheltenham on the Menero Downs.—*Literary Gazette.*

NATURAL EXHALATION OF CARBURETTED HYDROGEN GAS.

IN the vale of Cwmdare, near Aberdare, Glamorganshire, is a waterfall, which presents a phenomenon hitherto unnoticed. From the bed of the stream rises an exhalation of gas, which, being ignited, continues to burn, with a yellow flame, interspersed with streaks of livid white, orange, purple and blue. There are more than twelve apertures through which the gas escapes beneath the water (causing it to rise and bubble); others, on the dry banks, increase daily in size. One of the apertures is considerably larger than the rest, the flame from which burns about 2 feet in height, and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet in width. The soil consists chiefly of argillaceous schist, or fire-clay, sufficiently hot to burn the hand. Fish caught in the stream have been boiled upon it. The first impression was that this phenomenon was occasioned by an escape of carburetted hydrogen from a coal level; but it is a considerable distance from any coal mine.—*Athenæum*; *abd.*

THE SILURIAN SYSTEM.

IN the second part of Mr. Murcheson's *Silurian System*, just published, are elaborate engravings of about 350 species of Organic Remains, three-fourths of which are *new* to the scientific world. It is upon this that the chief merit of our author's labors is based; since he demonstrates that, independently of all local or mineral distinctions, these Silurian rocks contain vast quantities of Organic Remains—a *fauna* of their own, totally distinct, except in a very few individual instances, from the fossils of the overlaying systems. It is by the establishment of this fact that he is authorized to claim for his *System* the remarkable individuality and extension of character which justifies its separation from all the earlier deposits, and has enabled other geologists already to identify it in other parts of the earth's surface, of which it constitutes, according to recent information, a not inconsiderable portion.—*Quarterly Review*.

RELATIVE AGES OF THE CRAG OF NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK (ENG.).

A PAPER from the pen of Mr. Lyell appears in the *Magazine of Natural History*, No. 31; which embodies some results of the highest interest, as bearing upon the Tertiary Geology of Norfolk and the adjoining counties. The district treated of has long been celebrated for the number and beauty of its fossils; but, until a very recent period, no suspicion had been entertained that the fossiliferous beds called "crag" included deposits of distinct geological ages. It is now, however, satisfactorily shown by the application of the per centage test to the very extensive series of crag *Testacea* in the cabinet of Mr. Searles Wood, that three marine deposits, of different and well marked periods, overlies the chalk and London clay in this part of England. This result confirms the general views upon Tertiary Geology which Mr. Lyell has entertained in opposition to M. Deshayes, who asserts the existence in the tertiary group, of three definite proportions in the per centage of extinct species, and to one of which any member of the series may be referred.—*Mr. Charlesworth, F. G. S.*

CARBONIFEROUS AND DEVONIAN SYSTEMS OF NORTHWESTERN GERMANY.

THE following is a correct abstract of a communication from Mr. Murcheson to the British Association; which, in a geological point of view, is the most important paper of the meeting, as it unites opinions upon a great principle and much controverted theory. The author states that having, in company with Professor Sedgwick, examined the older rocks of northwestern Germany and Belgium, it is the intention of his friend and himself to lay before the Geological Society of London a general memoir (illustrated by numerous fossils), on the classification of these ancient deposits, showing a succession of the Carboniferous, Devonian, or *Old Red and Silurian Systems*. The present communication bears only upon one point of this analysis, and is offered as a clear and indisputable proof of the geological position of the anthracitic or culm-bearing strata of Devonshire and Cornwall. Transverse sections, in descending order from the productive coal-field of Westphalia on the N. N. E., to the uppermost division of Protogoeic rocks, on the S. S. W., were explained; and one from Dortmund by Schelke, to the neighborhood of Limburg and Iserlohn, was specially adduced, in which the various masses of strata are clearly exposed in five natural sections, in the following descending order:

1. Coal shales, coal, &c. (productive coal-field).
2. Millstone grit series, with many impressions of large plants, and occasional thin seams of coal.
3. Thinly laminated carbonaceous sandstones and shales, containing many grasses and small plants, together with bands of flat bedded, black, bituminous limestone and shale, charged with *Possidonæ* and *Gonralites*, and attenuating with courses of flinty schist, the *Kiesel-schiefer* of German geologists.
4. Carboniferous or mountain limestone, of great thickness, and of the usual British mineral characters, loaded with many well-known fossils of the formation.
5. Upper Devonian rocks, consisting of black schists, gray and red sandstones, with occasional calcareous courses, and numerous fossils (the old *Grauwacke* of German authors).

The order and sequence of these strata is indicated and maintained along the lower edge of the whole range of the large coal-field of Westphalia, the beds successively rising to the surface at angles varying from 30° to 40° , in perfect conformity, and showing throughout the clearest and most complete transition into each other. It is particularly to the group No. 3, indicated on an exhibited drawing, that the author directs the attention of British geologists; because it is, in all respects, identical with the culm-bearing strata of Devon and Cornwall, first described by Professor Sedgwick and himself, as being a portion of the true Coal-Field, and not belonging to the *Grauwacke* or older transition rocks, to which they had formerly been referred.

The Westphalian sections establish the geological position of the Bideford culm-strata more clearly than has been done by any stratigraphical evidence in Great Britain, by presenting five masses of unequivocal mountain limestone, rising out from beneath the black limestone and culmiferous schists; and thus the precise age of the latter is demonstrated.

In regard to the rocks of the Devonian system (old Grauwacke of German authors), which support in mountain masses the carboniferous system above alluded to, the author offered a brief and general sketch, assuring the Section of the Geological Society, that Professor Sedgwick and himself would demonstrate that these rocks fairly represent the British system generally known as the Old Red Sandstone, but to which they had recently applied the term Devonian,—a term which foreign geologists seemed well disposed to adopt, as calculated to prevent that confusion and antiquity which had arisen from the use of the word *Old Red Sandstone*, now that it is ascertained that rocks, for the most part black and slaty, occupy over wide districts the same geological horizon as our *Red rocks* of Herefordshire.

Proofs of the existence of the same order and succession will be hereafter pointed out in the countries of the Hartz and the Fichtelzeberg; as well as upon both banks of the Rhine, in Westphalia and Nassau, &c.; while a splendid development of the still older Silurian rocks (both upper and lower), will be pointed out, chiefly on the left bank of the Rhine; and also in Belgium, and the region around Liege and Namur, already rendered classic ground by the descriptions of D'Omalius, De Halley and Dumont.—*Literary Gazette*.

ERRATIC BLOCK OF GRANITE.

AN immense erratic block of Granite was floated on the ice during the winter 1837—38, from Finland to the island of Hochland. It weighs about a million pounds, according to the estimate of M. de Baer.—*W. Weissenborn; Mag. Nat. Hist.*

CONVULSION AND LAND-SLIP; NEAR AXMOUTH, DEVON.

THIS convulsion occurred on the south coast of Devonshire, at the distance of two miles east of the mouth of the river Ax, and the town of Seaton, and about one and a half southeast from Axmouth village. It commenced at three o'clock in the morning of Tuesday, the 24th of December, 1839, when a family, occupying a farm about half a mile distant, was aroused by a crushing and low rumbling sound. Nothing, however, farther occurred until four o'clock on the morning of Christmas-day, when some laborers of the farm, who tenanted two cottages built on the slope of the debris of the undercliff, were awakened by noises similar to that which had been heard the night before. On getting up and endeavoring to open the door, a man who dwelt in one of them, saw that the ground was sinking beneath him, that it was subsiding in terraces towards the sea—that it was gaping with fissures, and that the walls of his dwelling were cracking and tottering as if ready to fall. During the whole of Christmas-day, the disruption continued; making a roaring and grinding noise resembling some kinds of thunder, and causing the earth to tremble at a great distance from the actual disturbance. An

immense tract, extending east and west one mile in length, and many hundred feet in width, subsided or sank down so as to form a ravine or chasm more than two hundred feet in depth. Parts of several fields, included in this area, descended with great regularity and precision; so that their surfaces, still bearing their crops, are now at the bottom not much broken up, and only thrown into a slanting position, instead of being level, as they were before. The hedges which divided these fields can be traced on and along the fallen portions, as well as across the high country which has remained unmoved. This regularity, however, is not universal. Toward the eastern and western extremities of the chasm—particularly toward the former—the devastation has been extraordinary and complete. Columnar masses, resembling vast pinnacles or towers of chalk, are in some places left standing, whilst the more broken and crushed parts have sunk around them: immense banks of flint and broken rock rise in hillocks on every side, whilst the ground is rent and scored in seams many feet wide and deep. An entire orchard is to be seen in one part, which has descended to a level much lower than it before occupied: some of its trees are overthrown and uprooted, whilst many others are still standing, and will bear fruit next season. A wood of forest trees has also been broken up in the same way; the cottages before mentioned are in ruins, and their gardens destroyed: and the devastation around, although dreadful and terrific, is full of beautiful grandeur.

This chasm, however, is but one moiety of the phenomenon. It ranges east and west, and parallel with the sea-shore: and in running through the district, cuts off from the land a portion of the original country measuring one mile in length by half a mile in width. This huge mass, so cut off, has been forced on its foundation many yards in a southerly direction towards the sea, inclined somewhat from its former level, and rent and depressed into terraces. The bed of the sea also, the whole way along in front of it, has been lifted up to the height of forty feet above the surface, to a great distance out from the original line of coast, now forming reefs and islands, inside of which are bays and small harbors, into which boats have been, and have found good soundings. These reefs of thrown-up rocks are covered with marine productions, such as corallines, sea-weeds and shells. It is most probable that water, and not fire, has been the cause of this phenomenon. The upper stratum, running through the cliffs, is chalk. This rests on the green-sand formation, much consolidated, and alternated with seams of chert, a species of opaque flint. Beneath this comes a deep bed of loose, sandy marl, or "fox mould," as it is locally termed, and it is this unstable and friable soil that contains the chief causes of the disturbances under consideration; and lastly this stratum is supported by the blue lias, a formation partly composed of beds of tough and impenetrable clay. These being the component strata, let it be borne in mind, in order to the understanding of this explanation, that all the soils above the lias are pervious to water, but the clay in the lowest bed resists it. The rain and other atmospheric moisture which falls on the upper surface, and the springs of water which may tend towards one point, will filter through the chalk and sandstone, and be mainly absorbed in the spongy fox mould. It cannot descend lower, because the clay of the lias resists it. Now, where

the edges of these soils are exposed along the cliffs, so as to lay them bare and unsupported, this water will be seen oozing in springs out of the sandy mould immediately above the clay—which it carries away with it—slowly and most imperceptibly perhaps, but surely and inevitably. Such a process, going on through the course of ages, must necessarily undermine the superincumbent strata; and when a season occurs more wet than ordinary, and such indeed as England has experienced during the past summer, the catastrophe is hastened on with a sudden crash, even such as we now describe. The precipitate and violent subsidence of such a great mass, had power, by its overwhelming weight, to act laterally, and it was this lateral force which served to thrust upwards the bed of the sea, previously seven fathoms beneath the surface, now into reefs forty feet above.—*Year-Book of Facts.*

LAND-SLIP IN RUSSIA.

ON June 18, a remarkable displacement of an entire valley, near the foot of a mountain, took place at the village of Federowk, in Russia; and during seventy-two hours it moved with an undulating motion towards the river Volga. The sinking of the valley is one mile and a half long, and 250 fathoms in breadth. Above 70 houses were damaged or thrown down, but happily no lives were lost.—*Literary Gazette.*

UPRISING OF THE EARTH.

A PAPER has been read to the Royal Society, "On the Gradual Uprising of the Earth in certain Places," by Mr. Darwin; who follows out the subject taken up some time ago by Mr. Lyell. He refers to observations made in the district of Lochaber, in Scotland; portions of which have been equally raised to an extent of 1,278 feet above the sea. He illustrates and proves his position, by noticing the equable elevation of what had evidently been the margin of ancient waters in the Lochaber district, and also by reference to the deposition of immense blocks of granite on particular parts of many of the hills in that country, as well as in the valleys. These, he considers, could not have been so placed, or rolled into the localities they occupy, by the rushing of the waters, nor by irruptions of the earth. The deposition by the waters is impossible, inasmuch as the rush must have been more impetuous than when the surface of the ground was level. These blocks, in many instances, from the slight elevation of the hills on which they are sometimes found, could not have rolled or fallen from higher ground. M. Darwin describes the probability of their having been transported from situations where their formation had taken place: he describes the positions in which they were found, showing that they must have been removed considerable distances, by an undoubted elevation of the surface of the earth. The subject of the extraordinary parallel roads in Glenroy was discussed at great length in this paper.—*Literary Gazette.*

ARTICLE XII.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

It is our intention to occupy a few pages in each No. of our work with select bibliographical notices. The materials for the supply of this department are ample. On the continent of Europe, several periodicals are entirely devoted to brief sketches of the different books which issue from the press; and the arrangements we have made will enable us to present such as are most interesting to our readers. Our aim will be, not only to introduce to the American public the best works of foreign nations, but also to exhibit occasional specimens of their taste and philosophy, with the more engrossing subjects of inquiry and discussion. The books noticed from time to time will be in the languages of the countries in which they shall be published, except where an intimation is given to the contrary. In some cases we transfer the words of the reviewer; in others, for brevity, we present his sentiments in a condensed form. EDITOR.

 ENGLAND.
1.—*A Numismatic Manual: by John Y. Ackerman.* London, 1840.

We have long looked for a work on Numismatics, which might give so much information as every well educated man ought to possess, be free from vulgar errors, and at the same time be within the reach of the general reader. Just such a book has Mr. Ackerman given us. It is divided into five parts; the first treating of the Greek coins of cities and princes; the second of Roman coins; the third of Anglo-Saxon and English; the fourth of Anglo-Gallic; and the fifth of Irish and Scotch coins.

[The reviewer dwells at some length upon the first and second parts of this "admirable Manual," but we pass over these to give room for his remarks on the third part, which treats of British, Saxon and English coins. Here he expresses his "admiration of the way in which Mr. Ackerman has compressed into a small compass so much information."]

The English coins are interesting not only historically, but from the beauty of their Scriptural legends. The groats and half-groats, from their origin in the reign of Edward I. or III., bore the words POSVI DEUM ADIVTOREM MEVM—I have placed my trust in God;—a fit motto for the victorious Plantagenets, and which we find continued to the age of Elizabeth. When James I., on his accession, united the kingdoms of England and Scotland, he signalized the event by striking shillings and sixpences with the significant legend QVÆ DEVS CONVINXIT. NEMO SEPARET; and when the gunpowder-plot was discovered and baffled, he adopted the equally significant one, EXURGAT.

DEVS. DISSIPENTUR INIMICI. Another coin of James, bearing reference to the fact that, as Henry VII. had united the rival roses of York and Lancaster, so *he* had united the rival kingdoms of England and Scotland, has the legend, HENRICUS ROSAS REGNA JACOBUS. The coins of his unfortunate successor are highly interesting: the larger silver has CHRISTO AVSPICE REGNO, and the smaller ones IVSTITIA THRONUM FIRMAT. The pennies, which, from the earliest times down to Edward I., bear the names of the minter and the place of coining, and from Edward I. to Henry VII., the place only, as CIVITAS LONDON.—CIVITAS. CANTOR., bear, from the reign of Henry VIII. to that of Charles I., the singular legend, H. or E. or M., or P. ET. M. or J. or C. D. G. ROSA SINE SPINA.; referring, in the case of Henry VIII., to the union with the Yorkist and Lancastrian roses, whereby the *thorns*, that is, *rivals*, were removed. The base silver of Edward VI. bears the text, TIMOR DOMINI FONS VITÆ; and during the reigns of that prince and his father, the coinage was in a deplorable condition. An amusing anecdote is told of Bishop Latimer, who referred to the base shilling in a sermon preached before the king, on account of which he was charged with disloyalty. "We have now," says he, "a very pretty little shylling indede, a very pretty one. I have but one, I thinke, in my purse, and the last day I had put it away almost for an old groat, and so I trust some will take them. The fineness of the silver I cannot see, but therein is written a fine sentence, that is TIMOR, &c. I would this sentence were always printed in the heart of the king in choosing his wife, and in all his officers." The charge of disloyalty, however, he afterwards repelled in another sermon, in a style equally characteristic and singular.

The coinage of the Commonwealth,—which bore on one side, the obverse, THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND. round a shield charged with St. George's Cross, and on the reverse, GOD. WITH VS. round two shields, one as on the obverse, and the other charged with the Irish harp,—gave rise to the witty remark, that God and the Commonwealth were on different sides.

Nor are the legends of the gold coins less interesting. The first coin struck *for circulation* in that metal among us, has the pious legend DOMINE. NE. IN. FURORE. TVO. ARGVAS. ME. This coin is the florin. The noble bears the singular legend, I. H. S. AUTEM. TRANSIENS. PER MEDIUM ILLORUM IBAT. On the coins of succeeding monarchs, we find the following texts, or religious legends: PER CRUCEM TUAM SALVA NOS XTE. REDEMPTOR—LUCERNA. PEDIBUS MEIS. VERBUM. TUUM—INIMICOS. EIVS. INDUAM. CONFUSIONE—SCUTUM. FIDEL. PROTEGIT EVM—A. DOMINO. FACITUM. EST. ISTUD. ET. EST. MIRABILE. IN OCULIS. NOSTRIS. Then again by James I., FACIAM. EOS. IN GENTEM. UNAM.—by Charles I., FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA.; and AMOR POPULI PRÆSIDIUM REGIS., and the more just and pious sentiment, CULTORES SUI DEUS PROTEGIT. We might go on for many pages, were we only to give the interesting legends of the English coins.

We pass to the copper coinage just to notice the St. Patrick's half-penny and farthing; the former of which is extremely rare. They were struck by the Irish Papists, to commemorate the massacre of 1641,

and bear, on the obverse, the hypocritical legend, FLORAET REX.; and on the halfpenny, the equally hypocritical one, ECCE GREX., while the farthing has the legend marked by a still more disgusting affectation, QUIESCAT. PLEBS. We conclude with remarking that the value of the farthing of Queen Anne,—that of 1714,—is about five shillings.—*Abridged from the Ch. of England Review.*

- 2.—*Memoirs of the Life of SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY, written by himself; with a selection from his Correspondence: edited by his Sons. In three volumes. Second edition. London, 1840.*

These memoirs are extensively reviewed in several of the foreign Quarterlies, with almost unqualified commendation. They are probably among the most interesting and instructive biographies which have issued from the English press during the last year. We have room for only the following extract:

Few persons have ever been more beloved than Sir Samuel Romilly. He seemed equally born both for public life and retirement,—the pride of the bar and the senate,—and yet the charm of his domestic circle. Happily, from the mass of papers left behind him, there are quite sufficient materials to render him an autobiographer. He tells his own tale with a simplicity not the less refreshing from its being exceedingly rare. An intellectual son of Anak himself, and mingling on the most intimate terms with the kindred Anakim of his day, his *Memoirs* delightfully delineate the growth of magnificent talents, called one after the other into strenuous exertion for the welfare of his fellow creatures. The volumes before us contain two narratives of his life, bearing date respectively in 1796 and 1813; a pretty copious parliamentary journal; the diary of a visit to Paris in 1802; with another of the events in 1805; and one hundred and twenty-five letters.—*London Eclectic Review.*

- 3.—*A Treatise on the Physical and Moral Management of Infancy: by Andrew Combe, M. D. &c. Edinburgh, 1840. 8vo. pp. 375.*

We have already recorded our favorable opinion of this work; a second and more careful perusal amply confirms the impression which the first and hasty glance left upon our minds. It is one of the very few books which, addressed principally to parents, may be read by medical students, and even medical practitioners, with great advantage. It is true that Dr. C. does not arrest the attention of his readers by any novel facts. He has drawn freely from various sources for the purpose of rendering his treatise complete; and most admirably and judiciously has he employed the materials thus selected. The style is highly attractive, perspicuous and convincing. Every point he urges and every doctrine he inculcates is supported by a reference to well established physiological facts, and to indisputable statistical records.—*Brit. and For. Med. Review.*

- 4.—*The History of Christianity from the Birth of Christ to the Abolition of Paganism in the Roman Empire: by Rev. H. H. Milman. In three vols. London, 1840.*

To the praise of distinguished diligence, great perspicacity, exten-

sive learning, honorable freedom of inquiry and eminent impartiality, Mr. Milman is fairly entitled. But his work, in several respects, is better adapted to the student than the general reader; and we should not recommend it as the *single book* to be possessed by any person or family. To such, however, as have leisure to read several books, and know how to read, the present volumes may be very useful; for though they exhibit many of those views which have been hitherto held almost exclusively by rationalists, and Mr. Milman himself partakes somewhat of the rationalizing spirit, yet circumstances appear to have obliged him—we mean, the combined influence of his position as a clergyman and all the associations of his order and education—to look very carefully into those matters which affect the external bulwarks of our faith. Fixing earnestly on the secular and temporary accompaniments and results of Christianity, we cannot but feel that he has by no means adequately represented its spiritual and essential character.

That portion of the Christian history which is derived from the New Testament occupies the whole of the first volume and 79 pages of the second. It comprises much explanatory matter, and several discussions which will be interesting to the reader;—as the foreign connexions of the Jews, the Cabala, the Syrian religion, the Magianism of Zoroaster and the influence of that system on the opinions of the Jews. His extensive reading and philosophical acumen have also poured much light on the post-apostolic period, particularly on Christianity in its connexion with Orientalism. In respect to the constitution of the early Christian churches, his statements are candid and his discussions impassionate.—*London Eclectic Review*.

5.—*The Truth of Revelation; demonstrated by an appeal to existing monuments, sculptures, gems, coins and medals: by John Murray.* London, 1840.

This is a new edition, much enlarged and improved, of a valuable work which has been some time out of print. It is the author's design to exhibit the evidence to be derived from what he calls *living monuments*,—monuments still existing in topographical features and judicial customs. These include the first three chapters. In the fourth, we have the necessity of a divine revelation discussed; the condition of man without it, and the grounds on which we must infer a derivation from it, of all that is valuable in other systems. We are next conducted through the principal events recorded in the sacred writings, which the author illustrates in the eleven following chapters, by evidence derived from sources very diversified, and by inquiries into the claims of those theories which seem to impugn their credibility.

In this part of the work we have considerations on the history of creation, so far as it may be elucidated by the present state of science, including, also, remarks on the geographical hypothesis of the age of the globe, and on the Egyptian and Indian chronologies. Then follow, in succession, The Fall of Man, illustrated by the mythology of Paganism—The Deluge, compared with Pagan tradition; geological evidence and natural chronometers—The Dispersion—The Tower of Babel—The Call of Abraham—The Birth of Moses—The Exode and Pilgrimage—

The Tables of Stone—The Elevation of the Brazen Serpent—The Samaritans—The pronunciation of the word Shibolet—Samson—The Brook Elah—The Captivity of the Ten Tribes—The Invasion of Shishak, king of Egypt; and the events recorded in the book of Daniel. The thirteenth chapter commences the transition to the New Testament, by remarks on miracles and the sacred code of the Jews; by a general retrospect, and a view of the circumstances which characterized the eve of Christianity. The fourteenth contains observations on the advent of the Messiah, the divinity of his person, and the history of the crucifixion. In the concluding one we have illustrations of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Destruction of Jerusalem, by Titus and Vespasian, compared with New Testament prophecy; after which the discussion is brought to a termination by such subsidiary remarks as are naturally suggested by the whole case.—*London Eclectic Review*.

6.—*Observations on the Management of the Poor in Scotland, and its Effects on the Health of the Great Towns: by W. P. Alison, M.D., F.R.S.E.* Edinburgh, 1840. 8vo. pp. 198.

The object of Dr. Alison is to prove the necessity of extending the provisions of the English Poor Law, or a modification of it, to Scotland,—a necessity founded on the melancholy fact (too fully proved in his pages) of the total insufficiency of private or non-compulsory charity to supply the poor in Scotland with food and clothing adequate to the prevention of disease and death to a frightful extent.

"In following out this inquiry I have long since formed," says Dr. Alison, "and do not scruple to express an opinion, which I cannot expect to be, in the first instance, either well received or generally credited in this country, viz., that the higher ranks in Scotland do much less (and what they do is done less systematically, and less effectually) for the relief of poverty and of sufferings resulting from it than those of any other country in Europe which is really well regulated; and much less than experience shows to be necessary in any long-inhabited and fully-peopled country, in order that the lower ranks may be maintained in tolerable comfort, and a proper foundation laid for their religious and moral improvement." *Preface*, p. 8.

The natural result is, that in Edinburgh and Glasgow, "the annual proportion of deaths to the population is not only *much beyond the average of Britain, but very considerably greater than that of London!*"

We earnestly recommend this book to the attention of our readers. It cannot fail, sooner or later, to lead to a legislative enactment to cure the evils depicted in it;—an enactment which will hallow the name of Dr. Alison to the poor of all Scotland for ever, as it is already hallowed to the poor of his native city by the devotion and services of half a lifetime.—*Brit. and For. Med. Review*.

7.—*The Mineralogy and Botany of the Bible; from the German of E. C. Rosenmüller, D.D.: by T. G. Repp and Rev. N. Morren.* Edinburgh, 1840.

One of the most important and interesting works of modern times is Dr. Rosenmüller's Natural History of the Bible. The learning which he

has brought to bear on his favorite study is immense ; and he has done what few men, so ponderously learned, have done, in making his great work intelligible and acceptable to the general reader. This volume, though part of a series, is complete in itself, embracing two sections of the Biblical Natural History. The translation is well executed.—*Church of England Review*.

- 8.—*Microscopic Illustrations of living objects ; with Researches concerning the Construction of Microscopes and Instructions for using them : by C. R. Goring, M. D. A new edition amended and enlarged : by A. Pritchard, M. R. S. London, 1840.*

Now that microscopic investigations are obtaining so much attention by the Medical profession, we are glad to observe that the above interesting and important work, although increased considerably in size, has been reduced to less than one half its original price. The work is a strictly practical one, written by practical men, and the present edition brings the subject down to the present time. We recommend it to the attention of our readers.—*Brit. and For. Med. Review*.

GERMANY.

- 1.—*Ancient Geography ; illustrated by the history, manners and sayings of different nations, and compared with Modern Geography : by Lewis George. Part I. Asia and Africa. Stuttgart, 1838. pp. 578.*

The author has written for educated readers of all classes. By the introduction of history, customs, etc., he has aimed at giving "life and fulness to the dry skeleton of geography." "He first discusses the nature and utility of ancient geography ; next he takes a rapid survey of its history ; he then proceeds to select the most important facts from the physical geography of the ancients." The last six pages of the volume are devoted to the old dispute respecting the Atlantis. He believes, with Mannert, that the Greeks and Romans had only a vague notion of a Western continent. The reviewer commends the diligence and fidelity of the author, but thinks that he has not been altogether successful in the execution of his plan. "By attempting to combine instruction and entertainment throughout the volume, he has failed to satisfy the reader in both respects. For instruction, the ancient authorities should have been carefully enumerated, and such an opinion given respecting them, after a sifting of the good from the bad, as should have left the reader in no danger of believing blindly, or, of receiving as undoubtedly true, that which is unworthy of credit." "As to entertainment likewise, we cannot agree with the author, inasmuch as he introduces, as suited to this end, tales and fables. We can only regret that he has done this so frequently, as in this way the serious character of history is entirely lost. But we thank the author, notwithstanding these defects, for a work, in many respects, of distinguished excellence."—*Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

- 2.—*Frederick the Great ;—his Youth and Accession to the Throne : by Dr. J. D. E. Preuss.* Berlin, 1840. pp. 226.
- Frederick II. and his Century ;—in respect to Language, Literature, Schools and National Education : by Theod. Heinsius.* Berlin, 1840. pp. 177.
- Frederick the Great,—exhibited according to the best Authorities : by A. E. Fern.* Magdeburgh, 1840. pp. 432.
- Frederick the Great and his Adversaries : by C. Fr. Köppen.* Leipsic, 1840. pp. 172.
- Thoughts and Maxims of Frederick the Great.* Berlin, 1840. pp. 178.
- Frederick and Napoleon :—a historical parallel attempted.* Berlin, 1840. pp. 88.
- Frederick the Great and Napoleon—which was the greater ? by E. C. A. Baron V. Görz.* In three vols. Quedlinburg, 1839–40. pp. 218, 546, 546.

OUR readers will be surprised at the simultaneous publication of so many works relating to the same individual. But the phenomenon is explained by adverting to the fact, that Frederick II. ascended the throne of Prussia, May 31st, 1740. The first centenary anniversary of this event, therefore, has just occurred; and it has excited no little stir in Germany, especially among sundry authors, more than thirty of whom have seized upon the occasion to write a book respecting this remarkable man. We are not sure, however, that they have made the world much wiser than it was before. Some new facts may have been brought to light; possibly the character of Frederick, in some of its features, may be better understood; but the judgment which mankind have pronounced upon him, will continue in the main, unreversed and undisturbed.

The work at the head of this list is the most valuable. "It is written in a free, bold, energetic style, and is not laden with the ballast of useless distinctions, definitions, citations, etc." It opens with the author's views of the present Prussian monarchy. It then takes up the life of Frederick,—his youth, his education, his irregularities, his sufferings, etc. The *Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung*, published at Halle, pronounces it "one of the most interesting books which have been written on Frederick the Great." The author was well prepared for his undertaking by his larger work on the same subject in four vols., published in 1832–4.

The design of Heinsius is to answer the principal objections which are made against Frederick II. He dwells particularly on the king's alleged aversion to the German language, and his neglect of public schools. He endeavors to show that the first charge is untrue; that in fact he was the friend and patron of German literature. To the second charge he replies, that a thorough system of education would have cost millions, if, indeed, it could have been introduced at any price.

The object of A. E. Fern—whose real name is Rudolf Aefner—is to bring together the most interesting facts which illustrate the character of Frederick. The reviewer pronounces "the attempt in a high degree successful."—"The words of the writer," whose book stands the fourth on this list, the reviewer observes, "towards the enemies of Frederick are lightning, and his phrases thunder-claps." "First stand, with their spittle, against *the king*, the Jesuits and the thick-headed Protestants.

Next are the Indifferentists—neither sweet nor sour. They fall upon him with a noisy, absurd charge of Atheism, or, at least, of philosophical Deism; for no other reason than that he did not believe in the religion of the priests, and still less in the priests themselves." "From his intimate connection with the social philosophy of the eighteenth century he may have been skeptical at first; but he was never an Atheist, and subsequently he became a Christian; but a Christian with the true and genuine faith of illumination and tolerance."

The collector of the Thoughts and Maxims is R. Mac hler. "Many of these," the reviewer says, "are worthy to be preserved for ever." "Few princes have said so many striking truths; few have taken so profound a view of human nature, or expressed themselves so concisely and felicitously as he."

In respect to the comparison between Frederick and Napoleon, it is said: "to draw a parallel between these men accurately and justly, one almost needs something more than human wisdom." "The author of the first attempt has endeavored to be impartial; still he is much too stinted and one-sided in respect to Napoleon; and he endeavors to exalt Frederick above the French hero." "The second work lies without the limit of historical inquiry. Frederick is the writer's *beau ideal*; but Napoleon is a hero who had no existence as a man. He behaved like a cunning robber—a highwayman. Where such extravagance predominates, criticism must be silent."—*Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

- 3.—*History of the Religion of Jesus Christ: by Fr. Leop. Count of Stolberg, continued by Fr. v. Kerz. Vol. XXXIII.—of the continuation XX. Mainz, 1839. pp. 541.*

The reader will perceive that this is a work which has been in progress a number of years. The present volume is devoted to the thirty-seven years which followed the elevation of Hugh Capet to the throne of France—987 to 1024. It begins with a general view of English and French history during that period. Next it takes up the history of the Popes, the most remarkable councils, the spread of Christianity in Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Denmark and Norway. It concludes with an account of the most celebrated ecclesiastics of that time. The author is a Catholic; and his strong ultramontane sympathies characterize many parts of the volume. *Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

- 4.—*Latin Synonyms and Etymologies: by Lewis Doederlin. Leipsic, 1839. pp. 239.*

"This volume completes the comprehensive work on Latin synonyms and etymologies, which the author, with praiseworthy zeal, began in 1826: and surely, every one will greet this diligent laborer with a joyful *macte virtute* at its conclusion." The subjects discussed are the following: the necessity of comparative philology; onomatopoeic words; the way in which comparative philology is conducted; homonymy; the Latin a mixed language; foreign words; the doctrine of the formation of words considered under two aspects—the enlargement of roots and the change of roots. "In his investigations, the author considers the Greek as the only sure basis of the Latin; and he gives to the Indo-Germanic languages a subordinate place."—*Gersd. Rep.*

- 5.—*Manual of Hebrew Antiquities : by Dr. John H. Kalihoff.* Münster, 1840. pp. 468.

"This book is characterized by a philosophy which aims, and that successfully, at unfolding the history of the Jewish nation, its constitution and laws in their typical significance, without departing from historical truth. No one will be likely to read it without feeling himself animated by the profoundness and grandeur of the views which are taken, and becoming, at the same time, an admirer of the Old Testament theocracy." The author is a Catholic, and his prejudices have thrown a false light around some parts of his work. This is true, for instance, of his theory respecting offerings. He begins with a geography of Palestine; he then presents "the historical development of the Hebrew religion," with an account of its sacred persons, festivals, ceremonies, etc. The rest of the volume is taken up with political and domestic antiquities.—*Gersdorf's Repertorium.*

- 6.—*Manual of Dogmatic History ; for academical lectures : by Fr. K. Meier, Dr. and Prof., etc., at Giessen.* Giessen, 1840. pp. 301.

"The author, with his rich literary acquirements, has undertaken a work for which he was amply qualified. No one will lay down this treatise without being convinced that a good general survey, an accurate, concise and striking exhibition, not only of dogmatic history, as a whole, but of its individual phenomena, constitute the excellence of the book, and that it deserves to be commended to the theological public." The reviewer thinks, however, that the author's conception of dogmatic history is incorrect—it being in some respects too narrow, and in others too broad.—*Gersdorf's Repertorium.*

- 7.—ITALY. *Contributions to an acquaintance with this country : by Fr. von Raumer.* In two parts. Leipsic, 1840. pp. 402, 514.

The author of this book ranks among the first scholars in Germany ; and, in the judgment of the reviewer, these volumes are superior to his earlier productions. They are written in the form of letters to his friends at home ; the style is easy and graceful, and, at the same time, serious and profound. His investigations were especially directed to the politico-civil life of the Italians, their systems of taxation, the condition of their cities and the state of trade ; under this last head we have much important information respecting Trieste, Venice, Livorno and Genoa. While describing Trieste and Venice he takes occasion to discuss the character of the Austrian dominion in Italy ; and, indeed, he frequently returns to this theme with obvious pleasure. The provinces which are subject to this government are represented as decidedly the most quiet and happy. He quotes the confession of a native of Lombardy, who belonged to the revolutionary party : "The Austrian government is so excellent in every respect, that we have no ground of complaint ; and this is a great misfortune, as it deprives us of the occasion and the means of a popular movement, and the introduction of a change." But the author is far from praising or approving every thing in the Italian administration of this power. He next proceeds to the Sardinian states ; and there he finds, under the present king and his minister Villa-Marina, indications of a perceptible improvement.

The second volume is principally devoted to Rome, Tuscany and Naples. Intelligent Italians expressed the opinion, that the omnipotence of old Catholicism could never be regained. "If an impassable wall could be drawn around the territory of the Church, the Papal authority, in respect to most men, would immediately cease. It is not credible that it could long sustain itself with its own resources." "In Naples, where the democratic principles of the revolution have their chief seat, there is scarcely an individual who loves or respects the government, or who would defend it in case of an invasion. The finances of this state are in a wretched condition, and so are the people. An intelligent Calabrian remarked to the author, that his countrymen were in a state worse than heathenism." Among the prominent causes of the depressed condition of Italy, the author mentions the numerous institutions of charity, which tend directly to encourage idleness and beggary. The worst of these institutions are foundling hospitals: they have made the abandonment of children a common occurrence. The reviewer observes, that "while other states have one grievous burden—a standing army—Italy has no less than four—a standing army, foundlings, beggars, and an excess of priests, monks, etc."—*Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

Another foreign journal has placed a somewhat different estimate on the foregoing work. While it has "much curious information, which is absolutely wanting in all books commonly accessible," and "much also presented consecutively in a popular shape, which elsewhere must be gathered from a hundred different sources," the reviewer thinks it inferior to the author's previous productions. He complains particularly of the unsoundness of many of the arguments—"a coldness, a caution and a shrinking back from all slippery places"—and "the air of easy, nay, foppish indifference, which is the great fault of the book." In his politics, he is "essentially conservative," a friend, and an apparent apologist of absolutism.—*Edinburgh Review*.

8.—*Universal History; for the daughters of the educated classes: by W. Fornet*. Berlin, 1840. pp. 256.

This volume discards the impure fables and amusing tales of ancient times. It endeavors to present a history which shall exhibit mankind in actual life, and thus subserve the elevation and dignity of woman. The author has followed the usual arrangement, and given to general history a threefold division, into ancient, middle, and modern history; and each of these divisions is resolved into three periods. He gives a decided preference, however, to those "nations which have lived in times and circumstances like our own, and in whose immediate footsteps we are treading;" and hence modern history occupies the largest portion of the work. But even here the reviewer thinks him occasionally too concise. The style is commended; but some of the periods are too long, and some of the expressions are not well chosen.—*Gersd. Reper.*

9.—*The Speculative Analysis of the Idea "Spirit;" with an exhibition of the difference between the Hegel and new Schelling systems and that of Weber: by Dr. Charles Hinkel*. Rinteln, 1840. pp. 187.

To enable our readers to form some estimate of the value of this work, we give the author's closing italicised remarks: "The analysis is

concluded. The last epoch of speculation began with the proposition: *the I is All*,—and then converted the same into the proposition: *ALL is I*. But the epoch remained suspended on the finite I; and this was its death. Now, however, Weber has discovered the I which is All, and this, in reality, has overpowered and conquered every *not I*. And this is the great and true infinite of Weber's finished and complete system: by this one original thought of the eternal I, all questions are solved. Thus has he originated and fixed the absolute idea in the finite I: and whoever possesses this, is no longer a stranger to any principle or to any comprehension; for whoever has the whole, has likewise all the parts." The reviewer adds: "Such bombast is not uncommon at the present day;" and if not uncommon in Germany, it is not strange, perhaps, that a portion of it has found its way to this country.—*Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

10.—*NEW POEMS: by Nicholas Lenau. Stuttgart, 1838. pp. 342.*

"Nicholas Lenau has long been known as one of the most distinguished lyric poets of the present time. He belongs to the Austrian school; and there is an obvious national resemblance between him and his countryman Grün, though there are many points of dissimilarity. The poetry of both has much of the freshness and simplicity of nature." The reviewer gives the preference to Lenau; whose diction and versification, in particular, are pronounced decidedly superior to those of Grün. One of the poems is on the Falls of Niagara.—*Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

11.—*Works of Art and Artists in England and Paris: by Dr. G. F. Waagen, Director of the Gallery of Paintings at the Royal Museum, Berlin. Part III. Berlin, 1839. pp. 827.*

Parts I. and II. of this work contain the results of the author's researches in England. The present volume is chiefly devoted to the Louvre. "The author begins with historical remarks on the patrons of art and the collections of art in Paris; and then proceeds to the statues of the Louvre, which he considers in the order of time. Next we have an account of mosaics, ancient coins, etc., and also of the miniatures of the Royal Library. This is followed by criticisms on the rich assemblage of paintings in the Louvre, arranged according to the different schools to which they belong. In this way the volume, like the two which have preceded it, contains invaluable contributions to the history of art."—*Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

12.—*The Rebel of Man. From the English of Lady Blessington: by Fr. Lubojatzky. In three parts. Grimma, 1840. pp. 226, 310, 283.*

This book belongs to that class of novels which profess to be "founded on fact." It is not our design, in ordinary cases, to transfer to our pages criticisms on works of this description. But the writings of Lady Blessington have obtained a most undeserved and pernicious popularity in this country. To check, if possible, the circulation of the poison which they contain, we publish this strongly expressed, but merited censure of the German translation of one of her productions.

"Lady Blessington must be an extraordinary woman to devote so much labor, contrary to the practice of *authoresses*, to descriptions of scenes, in which the rudeness and vulgarity of a half-civilized people are made particularly conspicuous. In this kind of delineation her resources are inexhaustible; she knows how to swear like any stage-driver; no word is too coarse for her, and no expression is too impure to be put in the mouths of her bailiffs and constables. For low wit, also, this honorable lady has a strange fondness; and it is frequently introduced into this work. On the other hand, she fails entirely in the management of the touching and the tender. We feel, as we look at her sketches, that she loves to feed on beef *rare-done*. Lady Blessington must have a passion for *blood*; and there is no lack of it in this novel. There are so many deaths by cudgels, oars, hatchets and swords, that the havoc is truly laughable. The whole novel, though resting on a historical basis, is so destitute of true poetry, and those flashes of light which might have illumined the dark historical background, that we are surprised that she should have taken the pains to write it. Nor can we commend the translator for endeavoring to enrich our literature by smuggling into it so meager a production."—*Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

SWEDEN.

The Catholic League and the Huguenots: by *Abr. Cronholm*. Lund, 1839.

Cronholm is a young and very promising Swedish author, already distinguished for his *Wåringarne* and *Forn-Nordiska Minnen*. He is assistant lecturer on history in the University of Lund. This work is full of merit. It is terse, energetic and laboriously worked out. The best sources have been indefatigably used, and a satisfactory completeness pervades the whole. But in this, as in his other productions, we recognise the annalist rather than the historian. We have no philosophical views of the causes and bearings of historical facts. We find no grouping, no painting. A uniform monotony and a short style inform us of what happened, but without either lighting up our understanding, or affecting our passions. The close of the work we have read with greater pleasure and interest.—*Foreign Quart. Review*.

FRANCE.

- 1.—*The Plague; from materials collected at Alexandria, Cairo, Smyrna and Constantinople, during the years 1833—8*: by *A. F. Bulard*. Paris, 1839. pp. 470.

M. Bulard belongs to the number of those enterprising and adventurous physicians who have endeavored, at the peril of their lives, to find out the secrets of the plague. At three different seasons, he threw himself into the midst of its ravages, handled more than 20,000 who were sick with it, and subjected more than 200 of its victims to a post mortem examination. "But what fruit," inquires the reviewer, "have

these favorable circumstances produced?" Can the malady be treated with greater success? "Alas! The question must be answered in the negative. The skill of the physician has no material influence in curing this disease. The declaration of Wolmar: 'as often as the plague shall return it will be seen of how little use is the experience of the best physician,' is confirmed by the language of Bulard: 'medicines act only on the *organism*; they neither hinder nor modify the disease.'" It should be observed, however, in this connection, that M. Bulard proposes a new mode of treatment, from which he hopes much advantage. He thinks he has discovered that "the power of the disease is first felt in the changed secretions of the glands." "Hence originated the idea, by an immediate and efficient operation on the glands, of destroying or changing their diseased action."

In relation to the cause of this malady Bulard says: "The plague is not produced without the co-operation of contagion." This theory the reviewer resists; and he quotes with approbation the sentiment of Hancock: "I know of no opinion which is more consistent with the facts of the case and with reason, than that which supposes the occasional production of the plague where no contagion existed." The author discards the common hypothesis, that the plague originates in Egypt; and he is sustained in this position by the reviewer.

He has bestowed much thought and labor on the question: "How can the outbreak and spread of this disease be prevented?" He hopes that a safeguard may hereafter be introduced into the human constitution, by a process analogous, perhaps, to inoculation or vaccination. He made a great number of experiments to discover a remedy, but without success. The reviewer does not consider this hope of M. Bulard as chimerical. At present, however, the principal means of safety must be sought in avoiding the subjects of infection. "Here the investigations of the author deserve the greatest attention, and the most unqualified commendation." He thinks there are two, and only two ways of neutralizing the infection. The first is, by exposure to a high degree of cold or heat, and the second by immersion in water. *Persons*, newly clothed, may be subjected to a temperature of 27° — 30° of Reaumur, and *goods*, etc., to one of 35° — 60° . The time should be from twenty-four hours to eight days. After this process there will be no danger.—*Berl. Jahrbuecher fuer wissenschaftl. Kritik.*

2.—*Ireland;—social, political and religious: by G. de Beaumont. In two volumes. Paris, 1839. pp. 421, 340.*

The author has devoted four years to the preparation of this work, and has made two visits to Ireland to collect his materials. It is somewhat too diffuse; but still it is pronounced exceedingly valuable. The author resolves the troubles of Ireland into a struggle between the democracy at home, and the aristocracy of England in connection with the Protestant hierarchy. He begins with a rapid sketch of Irish history, through its successive changes. Then follows the social, political and religious condition of the country at the present time, with a chapter on O'Connell. In the second volume the author directs his attention to the remedy demanded by the existing evils of Ireland. This, he thinks, is neither emigration nor the support of the poor. The intro-

duction of industry and the encouragement of agriculture would do much. But the grand remedy is, the abolition of the aristocracy—civil and ecclesiastical. The ownership of the soil should be restored to the people, and the supremacy of the English Church should be annihilated. Will England apply the remedy? This question is discussed at considerable length. The different measures proposed by Whigs, Tories and Radicals are duly considered.—*Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

ITALY.

- 1.—*Monuments of the Literary Talent of all Nations. Vol. I. Florence, 1840.*

There exists at Florence an editing society of which Eugenio Albèri is the founder. It has sent out a notice to the world of its intention to publish the voluminous work before us, as a tribute from Italy to the intelligent of every place and nation. The first volume in the series is the Bible, according to the received Romanist version, which is not the Bible, any more than it is the Breviary. Greek and Latin poets and orators are to follow; the Greek and Latin Fathers, of course an abridgment; early poetry, the Edda, Ossian, and the Nibelungenlied; the Old Romances, the Lays of the Troubadours and popular songs: Oriental, Slavonian, Chinese, Arabic, Persian and Indian poetry; the elder Italian poets, prose, tragic and comic writers; Spanish, German and English literature, embracing the tragic, comic and romantic writers of these nations.—*Foreign Quart. Review*.

- 2.—*History of Florence; from the Etruscan to the present period: by Giunio Carbone. In six vols. Florence, 1840.*

History of Florence; by Giovanni Cavalcanti. Florence, 1839.

Documents of Italian History; by Giuseppe Molini. Florence, 1839.

Few states have been so graced by historical writers as Florence. The first of these works takes up her history from the conquered province of Etruria to modern times. The influence of Etruria on Rome was mighty, though not acknowledged by the Romans. They adopted all her mysticism, and Etrurian rites obviously pervaded her entire worship. Rome fell; Etruria remained, preserving her distinctiveness. Under the feudal system she maintained it still; and when Fiesole fell, Florence rose, now forming an independent state,—an imperium in imperio, not Austrian though ruled by Austria. Few histories can be made more interesting, and the author has bestowed years upon his work.—From the second work Machiavelli borrowed to no small extent. It has remained inedited in Tuscany. Appended to this edition is a treatise on politics by the same author, full of facts illustrative of the period, and a series of documents as yet unpublished.—The third work is the result of the author's labor over 1200 vols. fol. MSS. It is scarcely necessary to add that even Sismondi might derive fresh stores from such a plenteous source.—*Foreign Quart. Review*

ARTICLE XIII.

SELECT LIST OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

ENGLAND.

The Statesmen of the Commonwealth of England; with an introductory treatise on the popular progress in English history: by John Forster, Esq. 5 vols. London.

A Classical and Archeological Dictionary of the Manners, etc., of the Nations of Antiquity and the Middle Ages: by P. Austin Nuttall, LL. D., translator of Juvenal, etc. London.

Mythology of all Nations; for the biblical, classical and general reader, but more especially for schools: by Geo. Crabbe, author of "British Synonymes." London.

A Dictionary, Geographical, Statistical and Historical, of the various Countries, etc., in the World: by J. R. McCulloch, Esq. Part I.—VII. London.

The Primitive Doctrine of Regeneration; sought for in Holy Scripture and the written documents of ecclesiastical antiquity: by Geo. Stanley Faber, B. D. London.

Greek and English Lexicon to the New Testament; especially adapted to colleges, etc., but also a convenient manual for biblical students: by Rev. S. T. Bloomfield, D. D., F. S. A., Ed. of Greek Testament. London.

New General Biographical Dictionary: projected and partly arranged by the late Rev. Hugh J. Rose, B. D.; edited by Rev. Henry J. Rose, B. D. Part IX. London.

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THE

AMERICAN ECLECTIC.

MARCH, 1841.

NO. II.

ARTICLE I.

MEHEMET ALI, AND EGYPT.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The conspicuous part which Mehemet Ali* has acted in the affairs of the East, and the measures which have been recently adopted to extend his power, have imparted to his character and history a peculiar and almost universal interest. His successful invasion of the territories of his nominal master, the Sultan of the Turkish Empire, awakened the jealous politics of Russia, England and France, and determined the peace of Europe. The efforts of each to secure his territory and to gain the extension of his power, increased until it resulted in what was commonly against England's interests, and which may be our country, into the policy of the allied powers to the disadvantage of their demands, we cannot but regret that the power of Egypt has yielded to the necessities of his master, and that the great "Eastern Question" has been settled in a manner which will be satisfactory to the nations concerned in its adjustment. It is not strange, however, that this arrangement will produce permanent peace. The manner in which it has been settled presents new causes of division between England and France, and has changed the relations of the leading powers of Europe. Discussions, therefore, may arise out of this apparent settlement of the Eastern Question, which will yet bring those powers into collision, and thus dash the hopes of continued universal peace, which have been so confidently entertained.

* We copy from the English periodicals the French spelling of this name, which seems to have been adopted in the diplomacy of the allied powers, and to have become, of late, the European usage. It has usually been written in English history, and as we suppose more correctly, Mohammed Ali.

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